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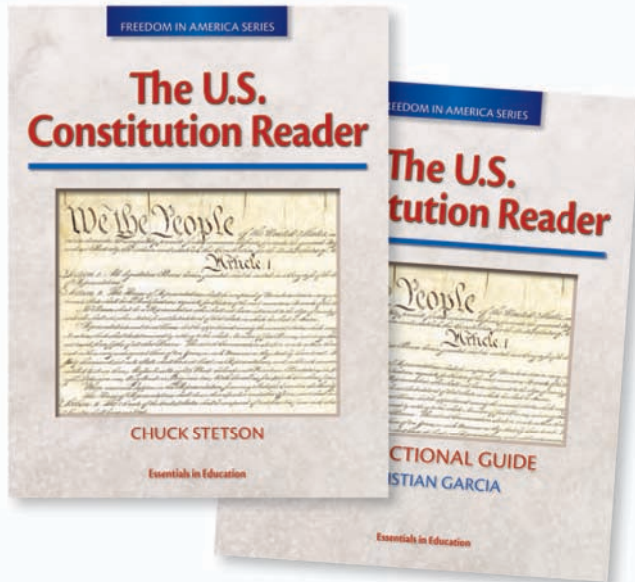
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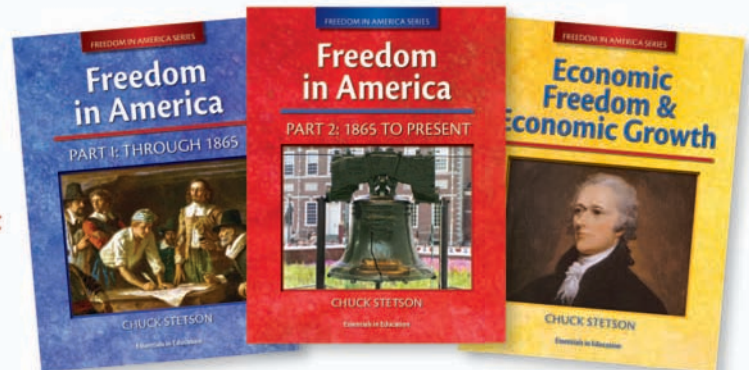
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Crime and Over-punishment

It is surprising that the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW would publish Stephanos Bibas's article, which describes at length the harmful social effects of keeping convicted criminals behind bars but entirely neglects to mention the enormous good such practices have produced ("Prisoners without Prisons," September 21).

Bibas asserts in passing that we have gained "too little benefit show" for what he calls "overimprisonment," but he neglects to specify any benefits at all. It's unclear that he thinks there are any.

Here's one: The lives of tens of thousands of people have been saved because of the steep decline in violent crime in the U.S., especially homicide, since the 1990s. Surely the growing prison population beginning in the 1980s had something to do with it.

Apart from that major omission, he has some useful and interesting things to say.



Ray Enslow
Los Angeles

STEPHANOS BIBAS RESPONDS: Of course imprisonment brings concrete benefits as well as costs; I believe that most of the defendants whom I once prosecuted needed some imprisonment. But the question is one of net, not gross, benefits. As with tax rates, there is a point of diminishing and eventually negative returns, and we may well have passed it.

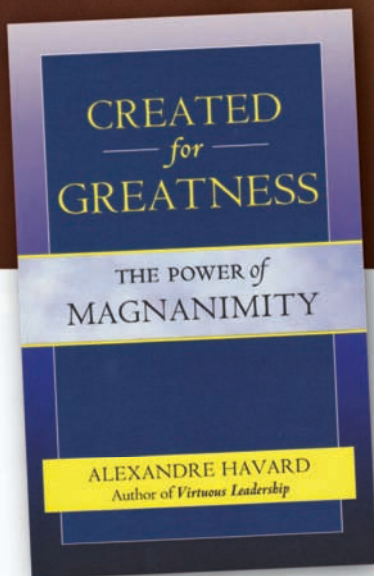
The most rigorous studies attribute only a modest fraction of the drop in crime to imprisonment; much of the credit goes to the removal of lead from gasoline and paint, increased numbers of police officers, policing methods driven by data systems such as CompStat, the aging of the high-crime youth cohort, the waning of the crack epidemic, declining alcohol consumption, and (controversially) the legalization of abortion.

Many economists conclude that, at this point, devoting additional dollars to policing is far more effective than devoting them to imprisonment, and carries a much lower social as well as monetary cost. Equating temporal sequence with simple causation is the classic fallacy *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. And I presume that if abortion reduces crime, Mr. Enslow would not jump from that gross benefit to advocating its mass use as a crime-control measure.

Letters may be submitted by e-mail to letters@nationalreview.com.

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The Week



Text

■ The New York City Council honored Ethel Rosenberg. One hundred million people were unavailable for comment.

■ If Donald Trump stopped insulting people, he would practically be rendered mute, but he has a bully's inability to take what he dishes out. Trump threw an epic temper tantrum on Twitter after Rich Lowry said on Fox News that in the last debate, Carly Fiorina had "cut Donald Trump's balls off with the precision of a surgeon." Trump demanded that Lowry be banned from television and fined by the FCC. (Isn't he supposed to be the anti-PC candidate?) Trump followed this up in TV interviews with a string of his typically witless put-downs, calling Lowry a "loser," "a total fool," and—this was particularly clever—"a bad guy." To say Trump has an unpresidential temperament is to put it mildly. One imagines the mogul sitting in silk pajamas plotting his revenge late at night in the White House residence over displeasing tweets and unwelcome TV commentary. As for Lowry's salty expression, maybe he should have said "cojones" instead—but we know Trump insists on English.



■ Declining poll numbers led to declining fundraising, and then to the end of Scott Walker's presidential campaign. He had been consumed by the task of surviving as governor in Wisconsin—he was elected in 2010, faced a recall in 2012, and won reelection just last year—and was unprepared for a national race. He flopped aggressively, with aides constantly explaining his strategic calculations in the papers. Walker has advertised himself as prudent, solid, no-nonsense. Dropping out was a decision that did not fit that description.

CNN: "I've worked with Muslims. I've trained Muslims. I've operated on Muslims. There are a lot of Muslims who are very patriotic." But "they don't accept sharia." Carson distinguishes Muslims who don't accept the Constitution from Muslims who do. polls do show that many American Muslims hold beliefs that are incompatible with the Constitution (e.g., about what fate should befall converts away from Islam). How many are enough

■ During the CNN debate in mid September, Carly Fiorina challenged President Obama and Hillary Clinton to watch the video exposing Planned Parenthood: "Watch a fully formed fetus on the table, its heart beating, its legs kicking while someone says they had committed murders. It was reasonable to be wary of we have to keep it alive to harvest its brain." Critics have taken her out as a fantasist non-stop ever since. The details of their case have varied. One media "fact-checker" claimed the kicking baby was the result of stillbirth, not abortion; another said it was Fiorina who was right about that. The video shows a technician who used to work with Planned Parenthood describing how she was instructed to take the brain of a fetus, intercut with footage of a different kicking fetus. Fiorina misled, surely inadvertently, in suggesting it was the same fetus. But her critics are right on the basic point of the scene: It offers vivid testimony that Planned Parenthood sometimes takes organs from living fetuses to those that have been raised against plans from his Republican and arranges its abortion procedures to that end. They have charged her with having made up the scene altogether. The video is a willful untruth.

■ Donald Trump stunned the political world yet again, this time by being boring. After months of saying he wanted to raise taxes on the rich, he delivered a fairly conventional Republican tax proposal that cuts their taxes quite a lot. It is open to objections similar to those that have been raised against plans from his Republican rivals. His tax cuts are ludicrously large—\$12 trillion over ten years—given the deficits we face and his unwillingness to see entitlements reformed. They are an extremely good deal for the rich but do nothing to relieve the burden of the payroll tax. His proposal to tax businesses on their foreign earnings, even when those earnings stay overseas, seems wrongheaded but, given the low tax rates he would apply to business, unimportant. We're

■ Ben Carson told NBC that a president could espouse any policy "consistent with the Constitution," but that he would not "put those earnings stay overseas, seems wrongheaded but, given the Muslim in charge of this nation." Days later he elaborated that



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Peace Through Strength



A CLARION CALL: PREVENT A NUCLEAR IRAN

A message from Brigadier General Donald B. Smith, U.S. Army (Ret.)
and the American Security Council Foundation

A *Clarion Call* to arms for every member of the American Security Council Foundation family: urge our members of Congress to vote **YES** on the disapproval resolution which will **prevent** the pending Iran nuclear deal from ratifying.

Some of you may have seen the full-page ad in the New York Times, in which 214 retired generals and admirals called for Congress to reject the Iran deal. This ad followed a letter in which these retired flag officers warned Congress of the dangers inherent in the impending nuclear deal with Iran. In their letter they stated, "In our professional opinion, far from being an alternative to war, the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action makes it likely that the war the Iranian regime has waged against us since 1979 will continue, with far higher

risks to our national security interests. Accordingly, we urge the Congress to reject this defective accord."

As the Chairman of the Board of the American Security Council Foundation, I join with these patriots in asking the American people who truly care about our national security and freedom to reach out to their representatives in Congress and urge them to reject this deal, which will certainly be a harbinger of perilous times to come if we don't step up and put a stop to it.

It is incredibly hard to believe that our Commander-in-Chief and leaders in Washington could put forth such a dangerous deal which supports a terrorist state and terrorism in general. The nuclear related economic sanctions, although not perfect, have had a profound impact on Iran's economy. Removing these sanctions, will funnel more resources, not only to the Islamic regime, but also to terrorist groups throughout the Middle East. This so called Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action not only jeopardizes our own national security interests, but also puts Israel, our most dependable ally in the Middle East, in great jeopardy.

America must take a stand and reject this plan which only seeks to weaken and destabilize our national security; we must get back to the strategy of *Peace Through Strength*, under which President Ronald Reagan, and later President George H. W. Bush, brought down the Berlin wall and the Soviet Union without the firing of a single shot. To ensure our safety and that of our allies we urgently need to return to our successful foreign policy based on a strategy of *Peace Through Strength* while emphasizing the four pillars of economic strength, diplomatic strength, military strength, and moral leadership.

At a time when we are greatly reducing the capability of our military by cutting back our forces to dangerously weak levels, we cannot afford to make such critical mistakes in foreign-policy. We cannot support rogue states who hate the United States and everything we stand for; who have vowed to "raise the flag of Islam over the White House."

While we are making contact with members of Congress, let us also remind them of the importance of a strong military. We must urge them to stop crippling our armed forces with massive personnel and budget cuts, and to take action to ensure that the United States of America will continue to foster the best equipped, the best trained, and the best led military in the entire world. Again, please join the ASCF and the 214 retired flag officers in compelling Congress to reject this dangerous Iran deal. America's best days can still be ahead of us, and America can remain the beacon of freedom, hope, and justice for the entire world to see. Let's continue working together to keep America free and strong!

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happy to welcome Trump to supply-side conservatism, and America was not founded on racist principles—it was founded on the most noble and humane principles ever to shape a nation. We'll leave it to him to explain to his supporters why his principles are so similar to Jeb Bush's.

■ Hillary Clinton came out against the Keystone pipeline and American practice was not lost on the founding generation, campaign stop in Iowa. The move casts light on the state of the sometimes especially) on the slave-holding among them. Democrats, and of her campaign. Stopping Keystone is a testament to Sanders is, as anyone who has heard him speak knows, stone for green groups, who want to slow the development of man with simplistic views and a cartoonish understanding of Alberta's tar sands. Bernie Sanders (who threatens Mrs. Clinton) well, almost everything. But it takes a special kind of civic literacy to miss that our great national sin was not in our principles and Martin O'Malley (who doesn't) both oppose the pipeline. The Obama administration has executed a seven-year struggle on the issue, unwilling to disappoint either greens or labor unions and the oil and construction industries. That Mrs. Clinton feels the need to run to her former boss's left shows she is feeling from that side (the only remaining side?) of her party. Unanswered by her or Keystone's other enemies: why should she spurn the oil of a free and friendly neighbor. May the State Department knows; somebody check the server.

■ Speaking of the server: The words "Clinton" and "perjury" were back in the headlines again in September after the Department of Defense reported that it had found a series of e-mails on Mrs. Clinton's private server that she had not handed over to the administration that she and her team had provided all "work-related correspondence. The DoD's discovery of a conversation with General David Petraeus indicates that this was not in fact true. In addition to casting yet more doubts on Clinton's honesty and reliability, this latest development neatly underscored why the FBI is so interested in Clinton's server: because, by keeping her correspondence outside the State Department's IT system, Clinton rendered it impossible for the government to know for any certainty what was sent and received while she was in the tary of state. Drip, drip, drip . . .

■ Mrs. Clinton gave a speech in which she declared, due to the and all that be damned, that women making allegations of sexual assault have "the right to be believed." We suspect that she is trying to get an executive-privilege exemption in there, somewhere.

■ Answering a questioner at an Iowa event, Jeb Bush praised America's powers of assimilation but warned that multiculturalism can thwart them. "When you create pockets of isolation, in some cases, the assimilation process has been retarded, it's wrong. It limits people's aspirations." Seeing an opportunity to weaponize a word, *Talking Points Memo* put up a post head-debating a ban on abortions after 20 weeks, a ban with public lined "Jeb: A 'Multicultural' Society May Lead to 'Retarded' Assimilation"—as if Bush had somehow been trash-talking the developmentally arrested. Josh Marshall, Wonkette, and other canaries retweeted the slur. But when even liberals—Chris

Vox—objected, since "retard" is after all in the dictionary ("To impede or delay; cause to proceed slowly"), the story with Marshall et al. are not developmentally arrested—just lazy

■ Senator Bernie Sanders (I., Vt.), representing the whitest constituency in these United States, told a group of college students that the United States was founded, "from way back, on the principles." Add this to the list of things about Sanders that are not quite right. It may seem like a matter of semantics, but is an important distinction to be made: The United States



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and he almost sounded like he was serious about it, criticizing Obama professed when he was elected from being deprived of eligibility for federal grants, licenses, and employment; and cause they might offend this or that minority group, criticizing colleges and schools from losing their accreditation student protesters who prevent conservatives from speaking because of their position on marriage. FADA is so important campuses, and generally instructing the kid from his pajamas because it would provide safe harbor from the real threats to Boy ad to buck up and act like an adult. Well, more joy conscience that the progressive juggernaut on same-sex marriage and all that—now it's for Obama to deliver that message poses. Critics of any particular provisions in FADA ought to his Education Department, which is busy prodding colleges clarify whether they support its overarching goals. The real objections of those who do not are to the American traditions of religious liberty and pluralism.

■ In August, two women graduated from the Army's grueling Ranger School. There was much fanfare, and in some circles their accomplishment was taken as proof that women can hang in with men in ground combat. But was the fix in? An explosive well-sourced report in *People Magazine* alleges that the women were granted a number of advantages over their male counterparts, and that a general officer declared, "A woman will not eat Ranger School." The military vigorously disputed the report, but the reporter, Susan Keating, doubled down, demanding to know why she'd been denied on-the-record access to key personnel. Greater transparency could resolve the dispute, but greater transparency will also show the politically incorrect reality: Putting women in the infantry is a terrible idea.

■ The new, improved First Amendment Defense Act (FADA), released in September by Senator Mike Lee (R., Utah), is an essential piece of legislation that seeks to protect religious liberty in an increasingly hostile environment. Among FADA's modest aims: protect the tax-exempt status of entities that adhere to the belief that marriage is the union of a man and a woman; protect individuals who hold the same belief about marriage that

In 1983, Congress renamed the area outside the Soviet embassy in Washington "Andrei Sakharov Plaza." Sakharov was a great physicist who became a dissident and won the 1975 Nobel Peace Prize. After Congress passed its law, Soviet officials had to open mail addressed not to 1125 16th Street, but to Andrei Sakharov Plaza. Now Senator Ted Cruz wants to rename the area outside the Chinese embassy "Liu Xiaobo Plaza," in honor of another great dissident and Nobel peace laureate, who was a prisoner of the Chinese Communist Party right now. Cruz asked for unanimous consent, but Senator Dianne Feinstein blocked him, saying that the renaming would be undiplomatic.

If Feinstein or President Obama can whisper into the CCP's ear and spring Liu, great. But not even the award of the Nobel Peace Prize could spring him. Cruz's idea accords with American values. So does a related idea of his: to rename the street outside the new Cuban embassy after Oswaldo Payá, the brave and noble democracy leader who was killed three years ago, almost certainly by the dictatorship that ruled him and that continues to rule all of Cuba.



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■ Volkswagen has canned ~~its~~ *Vorstandsvorsitzender*, Martin Winterkorn, after revelations that the company's engineers had conspired to write control software for its diesel engines that would detect when an emissions test was being conducted and put the car into a special beat-the-test mode. German prosecutors have, with great justification, opened a criminal case, and the hand-in-the-cookie-jar posture of Volkswagen suggests that the company does not expect to mount much of a defense, its having been indefensible. Expect epic fines at the very least. That corruption is part of the general condition by no means excuses it, in the particular, but we wonder, as the Obama administration prepares to negotiate a much larger, more complex, and more expensive set of carbon-emission controls with the intention of combating global warming: Does anybody expect the Chinese politburo to be more trustworthy than German automotive executives? Trust, but verify, somebody once said. In the case of global-warming accords, we suspect this advice is going to prove only half applicable.

■ Parents in one of the more prosperous corners of Brooklyn are in an uproar. Until very recently, families in Dumbo, a relatively new neighborhood that is essentially a forest of condominiums catering to financier-techies, and “creative professionals,” sent their children to Public School 8 in ultra-affluent Brooklyn Heights. But now, according to a report *New York Times*, the city's education department has proposed sending Dumbo students to nearby P.S. 307, an elementary school that serves the Farragut Houses, a sprawling public-housing complex that borders the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Not surprisingly, students at P.S. 307 is much poorer and less white than the students at P.S. 8. Given that this corner of Brooklyn is full of colorful liberals, you'd think that Dumbo parents would be delighted by the prospect of sending their children to a more socioeconomically diverse school. But in fact many local parents are fighting the rezoning tooth and nail. What would these enlightened Brooklynites think if this exact same scenario were playing out in the Deep South, or in some less enlightened middle-class suburb? We suspect that they'd consider those fighting against integration terribly retrograde.

■ The presumption that the state has a role to play in controlling and ossifying the truth is one that is more commonly maintained by dictators than by scientists. But, as the debate over climate change heats up, this distinction is beginning, disgracefully, to blur. Heretofore, calls for the imprisonment of climate skeptics have come mostly from outside the academy—from politicians such as Robert F. Kennedy Jr. and Sheldon Whitehouse, and titillation writers such as Adam Smith, formerly of *Cavender*. In September, alas, these would-be tyrants were joined in their campaign by some supposedly more serious figures. Justifying their proposition with a dramatic appeal to urgency, a collection of 20 high-profile academics penned an open letter to President Obama, beseeching him to use the United States' RICO laws to punish those who disagree with their conclusions. America's “deniers,” the group claimed, “have knowingly deceived American people about the risks of climate change, as to means, or forestall America's response to climate change.” In consequence, they should be punished. If we are now to begin calling dissenters against the American way to the attention of the government, we can think of 20 people who belong on the list. is the leader of the Ladies in White, a group of faithful Catholics

■ The U.S. Department of the Interior is ruffling feathers out west. Interior Secretary Sally Jewell announced that the greater sage grouse—the subject of the largest landscape-level conservation effort in U.S. history—doesn't need to be listed as an endangered species. This announcement should have been good news for ranchers, industries, and businesses: These private entities won't have to change practices to accommodate Endangered Species Act regulations. But there's more to the story. In order to maintain sage-grouse population growth, the Interior Department instead added 15 amendments to its land-use plan. This plan and its new amendments apply to the eleven western states where the sage grouse lives. Endangered species sometimes get delisted, relaxing the regulations surrounding them. No such prospect awaits the sage grouse. Evidently it's regulations that this administration is most determined to protect from extinction.



■ In August, the Associated Press reported that the International Atomic Energy Agency “will allow Iran to use its own experts to inspect a site [Parchin] allegedly used to develop nuclear arms.” *Washington Post* media jumped to dismiss the report as “badly flawed,” and MSNBC.com's “TheMaddowBlog” called it a “dud,” both pouncing on the fact that the AP had published multiple versions of the story over the course of 24 hours (the final version of the story included everything originally reported). In late September, the IAEA confirmed that Iranian scientists had collected samples from Parchin, with no IAEA oversight. Apologies should be sent to the AP.

■ There are legitimate reasons for the military to tread lightly on foreign cultures. But do they justify requiring our soldiers to ignore and ossify the truth is one that is more commonly maintained by dictators than by scientists. But, as the debate over climate change heats up, this distinction is beginning, disgracefully, to blur. Heretofore, calls for the imprisonment of climate skeptics have come mostly from outside the academy—from politicians such as Robert F. Kennedy Jr. and Sheldon Whitehouse, and titillation writers such as Adam Smith, formerly of *Cavender*. In September, alas, these would-be tyrants were joined in their campaign by some supposedly more serious figures. Justifying their proposition with a dramatic appeal to urgency, a collection of 20 high-profile academics penned an open letter to President Obama, beseeching him to use the United States' RICO laws to punish those who disagree with their conclusions. America's “deniers,” the group claimed, “have knowingly deceived American people about the risks of climate change, as to means, or forestall America's response to climate change.” In consequence, they should be punished. If we are now to begin calling dissenters against the American way to the attention of the government, we can think of 20 people who belong on the list. is the leader of the Ladies in White, a group of faithful Catholics

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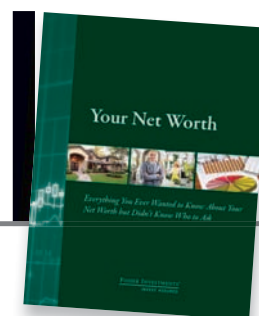
With people living longer, with health care and long-term care costs continuing to rise and with general inflation eating away at your wealth in a slow but insidious way, now is the time to learn what steps you should and shouldn't take. It pays to understand the dangers as well as the options.

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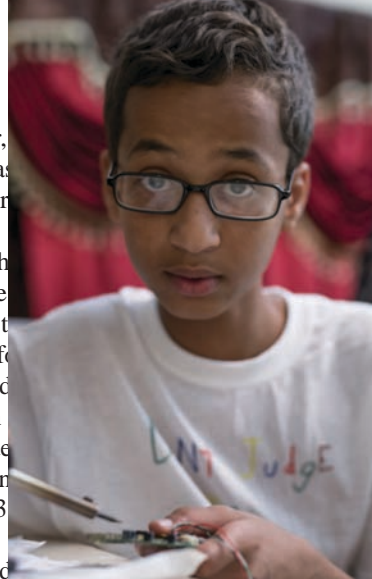
who campaign for the release of political prisoners. Later, Francis said he was not aware of any arrests. That was odd, since state security tackled a man, Zaqueo Báez, in front of him, and dragged him away violently. Báez is a dentist. The pope did not ~~much~~ any of them, though he had a happy meeting with Fidel Castro: News photos show the pope beaming with delight at the old monster. Not only did he refuse to meet with any dissidents, he refused to speak for or encourage them. As one democracy group on the island put it, “The pope did not utter a phrase of solidarity with victims of repression.” Forget phrases, the pope hardly uttered a word. John Paul II, when he gave a homily in Cuba, mentioned the word “freedom” 17 times and the word “justice” 13 times. Francis did not say “freedom” or “justice” at all. José Ferrer, a democracy leader, said that the pope discussed the “glory of God in heaven” but said “nothing about the hell of the world on earth.” Politely, you could say that the pope’s four-day trip to Cuba was a missed opportunity. Less politely, you could say that his behavior was disgraceful.

■ The hits keep coming for Jeremy Corbyn, the new leader of the

British Labour party. In September *Daily Telegraph* uncovered a newspaper column Corbyn had penned in 2003, in which he appeared to suggest that Osama bin Laden had been ~~written~~ by Susan Brownmiller. The accusation against bin Laden came suspiciously swiftly, as Corbyn contended, and was ~~used~~ to justify “an attack on the Taliban and then, subtly, [the move toward] regime change in Afghanistan”; it should therefore be treated with skepticism and contempt. In an earlier set of columns that were offered up in the aftermath of the first Gulf War, Corbyn showcased his considerable talent for conspiracy theory. The expulsion of Saddam Hussein from Kuwait, he claimed in a 1991 *Labour Briefing* (a left-wing paper, most likely served as a “curtain raiser” for the “New World Order” in which “white and western” people would be the “free use of all the weapons.” “The aim of the war was to maintain a world dominated by the banks and multinational companies of Europe and North America.” George Galloway, step aside. The Left has no need for you.

■ In August, wildlife photographer Kerstin Langenberger spotted an emaciated polar bear traipsing across the ice floes of the Norwegian archipelago of Svalbard. She snapped a photo and posted it to her Facebook page with an impassioned plea for you guessed it—action on climate change. Predictably, the photo went viral. Then the *Outlook* consulted some actual wildlife experts: “There has been ~~study~~ that I know of that said bears starve specifically as a result of climate change,” Rode, a wildlife biologist at the U.S. Geological Survey in Anchorage, Alaska, reported. “We know that animals in the wild don’t live forever,” said Polar Bears International chief scientist Steven Armstrong. “Polar bears, they don’t have natural enemies so when they die it’s of starvation.” So, in other words, there are skinny polar bears.

■ Ahmed Mohamed, 14 years old, took a small briefcase with wires and a circuit board to his school in Irving, Texas, and was arrested when teachers thought it was a bomb. He claimed the device was a clock he had invented; Silicon Valley and the White House praised him (“Cool clock, Ahmed,” President Obama



do not shun the limelight: His father has run a business in Sudan. And Ahmed is not a young Edison: His “clock” was a signards of a 30-year-old Radio Shack model, which he had simply disassembled. It was no great technological development, but another leap forward for the grievance industry.

■ Every women’s-studies major has read *Against Our Will: Men, Rape, and Rape* (1975), an encyclopedic history of the subject which was great consternation in feminist circles when Brownmiller, now 80, wrote it. The accusation against bin Laden came suspiciously swiftly, as Corbyn contended, and was ~~used~~ to justify “an attack on the Taliban and then, subtly, [the move toward] regime change in Afghanistan”; it should therefore be treated with skepticism and contempt. In an earlier set of columns that were offered up in the aftermath of the first Gulf War, Corbyn showcased his considerable talent for conspiracy theory. The expulsion of Saddam Hussein from Kuwait, he claimed in a 1991 *Labour Briefing* (a left-wing paper, most likely served as a “curtain raiser” for the “New World Order” in which “white and western” people would be the “free use of all the weapons.” “The aim of the war was to maintain a world dominated by the banks and multinational companies of Europe and North America.” George Galloway, step aside. The Left has no need for you.

■ A student at Wesleyan University in September wrote an op-ed for the campus newspaper expressing mild criticism of some aspects of the Black Lives Matter movement. In response, a group of students, faculty, and alumni signed a petition urging the paper to take action on climate change. Predictably, the petition of the paper and an end to things for “failing to prevent viral. Then the *Outlook* consulted some actual wildlife experts: “There has been ~~study~~ that I know of that said bears starve specifically as a result of climate change,” Rode, a wildlife biologist at the U.S. Geological Survey in Anchorage, Alaska, reported. “We know that animals in the wild don’t live forever,” said Polar Bears International chief scientist Steven Armstrong. “Polar bears, they don’t have natural enemies so when they die it’s of starvation.” So, in other words, there are skinny polar bears.

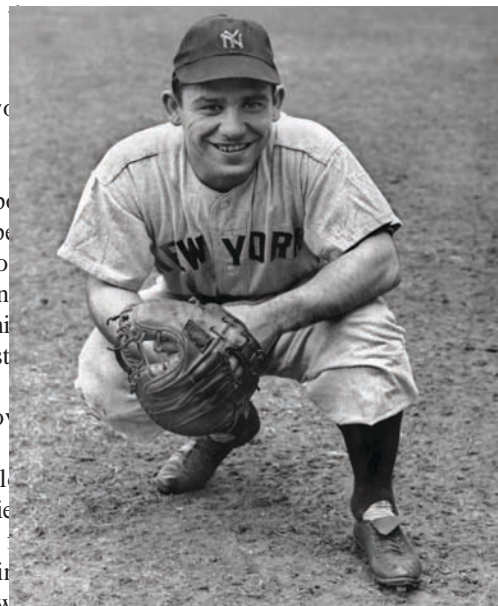
■ Karen Gaffney, 38, a competitive athlete, has swum across Lake Tahoe and Boston Harbor and 16 times across San Francisco Bay. In 2001 she completed a relay swim across the English Channel. A graduate of Portland Community College, she holds a teacher's certificate; the University of Portland awarded her an honorary doctorate in 2013. As president of the Karen Gaffney Foundation, which is funded by her own earnings she receives for speaking engagements, she advocates for people with Down syndrome. At a TEDx talk in Portland in May, she noted that prenatal testing for unborn children, which "rock the extra chromosome" means that most of them are aborted, a loss for the world they were prevented from being born into. Gaffney herself has Down syndrome. She joins a growing movement; not long ago in 2014 we noted the recent entry of people with Down syndrome into the modeling industry. In an age when moral standards on many fronts are in retreat, here's a step forward, some cause for hope.

■ "Adult" is one of those words that can have two meanings: "mature" or, alternatively, "as sex-obsessed as a 13-year-old boy." The new adult-oriented Muppets series *Elmo's World* bit in both. Kermit was the producer of Miss Piggy's television show, which is a bit awkward since he has just dumped her for a (slightly) sexier sow who happens to be an executive at the network. Not since Aristophanes has the world seen so much drama.

■ The forces of political correctness have not yet killed *The Mikado*. Year after year, they are doing their best. The New York City & Sullivan Players have announced the cancellation of their production of *The Mikado*. The *Pirates of Penzance* will be substituted. Somebody, somewhere, objected to *The Mikado* on grounds of ethnic stereotyping. "NYGASP never intended to give offense," said the organization, pathetically. "Thanks for the constructive criticism." Yeah, sure. Lucky for NYGASP, pirates aren't organized.

■ "What a nice man," thought Peter Hannaford in 1965 after meeting Ronald Reagan for the first time. "Too bad he can't get elected." Two years later, Reagan was governor of California. "I thus joined the army of those who understood Ronald Reagan—an army that was to grow much larger in years ahead." Hannaford signed up for a different army, becoming a lieutenant in the one that launched the Yogi Berra revolution. A public-affairs professor, he initially served Reagan in Sacramento. As Reagan's second term expired, he stayed with Mike Deaver. They devoted most of their time to Reagan, keeping his schedule and arranging his radio commentaries and columns. During the presidential campaign of 1976 and 1980, he was one of Reagan's frequent confidants on the road. Unlike Deaver, Hannaford never took a job in the White House, but he remained an occasional adviser who suggested lines for speeches. From his home in California, he worked with clients, wrote books, and oversaw the page of his local newspaper. He remained active in writing columns on Donald Trump and the renaming of McKinley. Hannaford filed his last piece the day he died, on September 5. It appeared posthumously on the site of *The American Spectator*. The topic: good grammar in a capitalist society that businessmen seldom get credit for.

■ Fred DeLuca was the founder of the Subway sandwich chain. A factory worker, he opened his first shop at the age of 17 in Bridgeport, Conn. Today, there are some 44,300 independent Subway franchises in 110 countries. (By comparison, there are 36,000 McDonald's outlets.) DeLuca did a world of good. He provided fresh and affordable food for consumers; he employed a great deal of people well off as franchisees; and those franchisees provided a great deal of employment, especially for young people getting their start. In New York, for example, Subway outlets were manned primarily by immigrant kids—kids whose families have come from all corners of the earth. It's a perversion of the capitalist society that businessmen seldom get credit for.



they perform. In an interview two years ago, DeLuca said that if pope is not shy about talking politics, and his political he had to start out in today's environment, "Subway would not exist. In the prepared text of his speech to Congress, he v exist." Obamacare and other regulations would strangle it in human making politics "a slave to the economy and finance, cradle. It's a great and good thing that Fred DeLuca existed in temperate language that he apparently thought better of and he did. This exemplary businessman has died at 67. R.I.P. omitted. But standing in front of a group that includes a large

POLITICS

After Boehner

THE election of a Republican House in 2010 put an end to the march of liberal legislation through Congress. Obama would get no signing ceremony for carbon caps, for abortion union laws, for new gun controls, or even, as it turned out, for "comprehensive immigration reform" so favored by all the and good. Republicans in Congress also imposed some spending cuts, albeit ones that fell too heavily on defense. When Bush's tax cuts expired, they got President Obama to agree to Bush's tax cuts expired, they got President Obama to agree to

Those are accomplishments for which Speaker John Boehner who has announced that he will retire at the end of the thing like the misbegotten immigration bill that the Senate in 2013, for example, he wisely chose to avoid through over his party's objections.) But overall his record that conservatives find, and should find, disappointing. To sure, there are real limits, as Boehner and his allies insisted, on what Republican congressmen can achieve when an implacably liberal president has a unified Democratic behind him; but what is most dismaying is how little Republican congressmen have ever tried to achieve. The House has voted on a conservative replacement for Obamacare, or a form, or even a bill to unwind Fannie Mae and Freddie of the few conservative policy victories in the last few years end, for now, of federal authorization of the Export-Import Bank—was accomplished over Boehner's objections.

The Republican leadership in Congress constantly complains that conservative groups are demanding that it fight the Obama administration in ways it considers counterproductive. Budget does not suggest that instead Republicans fight against the administration, or for conservative causes, in some superior way. Its alternative to losing fights consists of "regular order" and advancing bipartisan legislation that appeals to business groups. That is a recipe for demoralization among conservatives, loss of Republican popularity among swing voters, further strife within the party caucus, and a further weakening of Congress as an institution. Boehner has conservative views on most issues sought to advance those views as best he could. But he allowed a destructive dynamic to take hold among Republicans in which realism is forever pitted against vision. We will be well in retirement, and wish for a successor who will try to end that division.

RELIGION

The Pope in America

POPE FRANCIS gave two rather different speeches, one to Congress and one to the United Nations. The pope seemed to believe that the latter was the oratorical triumph of his visit to the United States, while the Washington-minded seemed to believe that it was the former.

number of professing Catholics—the Democratic portion of which had just stood adamantly against modest abortion restrictions rather less invasive than those operative in Sweden—the pope was gingerly about what we've been taught to call the "social issues." His references to abortion and gay marriage were oblique, but he took a much stronger stand on several issues, notably on which the church he leads does not take similarly absolute views for global warming, for this is a voice for the poor (presumably not the fellows who arm his Swiss Guard); and, predictably, those on the culture-war cuts, albeit ones that fell too heavily on defense. When Bush's tax cuts expired, they got President Obama to agree to

that might have signaled. We hope that they were listening to the United Nations speech in October, during which the pope reiterated with vigor the familiar and humane Catholic teaching on marriage, abortion, and family life, with strong words on sex trafficking and religious liberty making a welcome appearance, too. The pope being the pope, there was a firm denunciation of "declarationist nominalism," which is Vaticanese for the fact that a fetus isn't an eggplant and Bruce Jenner isn't a woman. Even better, a surprise visit to the Little Sisters of the Poor gave them some succor as the Obama administration continues to try to coerce them. We reiterate our standing criticism of Pope Francis's economic views, which are at best shallow and at worst potentially destructive, though he did manage a lukewarm moment of praise for the American enterprise when addressing Congress. There simply is no substitute for capitalist abundance if you are serious about feeding the Lord's sheep. Francis's famous love of Franciscan simplicity tips too easily into oversimplification. Popes do politics, but to farther ends, and that the current pope sometimes puts a partisan spin on certain eternal truths—that men are neither wild nor livestock, that they are made in the image of the Almighty and bound for a kingdom not of this world—does not diminish those truths, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail.



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Jeremy Corbyn, British-political throwback

BY CHARLES C. W. COOKE

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ROMAN GENIN



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Hopelessly Hackable Feds

What a data breach tells us about our government

BY KEVIN D. WILLIAMSON

I GUESS everybody is going to know what kind of porn I like.” Not something one hears at a lot of business meetings, but the guy had a point: We were in the middle of DEF CON, the annual hackers’ convention in Las Vegas, and he had broken the cardinal rule: Never use the Wi-Fi. Nearby, the user names and passwords of the unwary were displayed for public amusement on the Wall of Sheep. The scene is High Hacker Camp, a carnival of nerdery overseen by a fellow who calls himself “Dark Tangent.”

The gray men from Washington want to be here—they need to, really—and they’re making nice after having been disinvented from the 2013 convention in protest of the prosecution of Edward Snowden. The Federal Trade Commission, which has become the de facto federal police department for consumer-privacy violations, underwrites DEF CON contests, and DARPA, the Pentagon’s mad-scientist venture-capital division, is a convention regular. Representative Will Hurd (R., Texas) is here, too, talking about the hijacking of vast quantities of personal data, ranging from background checks and financial information to fingerprints, from the poorly secured network operated by the federal Office of Personnel Management (OPM). Hurd, a former CIA agent and a partner in a cybersecurity firm, is here looking for help. The best way to defend against hackers, he tells a *Motherboard* reporter, is to have a hacker mentality.

Or to have the hackers. Dark Tangent? His real name is Jeff Moss, and he sits on the Department of Homeland Security’s advisory council.

Talk of the OPM hack has been twittering through official Washington for months as federal employees, contrac-

Famously, Corbyn is unsure whether evil exists in the world—unless, of course, that evil has an American accent. The first Iraq war, he suggested in 1991, was the overture to a “new world order”—a convenient excuse for “white and western” people to claim “free use of all the weapons.” Sure, Saddam Hussein might have been a touch mean to his people. But the real enemy of international liberalism was the “war machine of the United States,” which sought “to maintain a world order dominated by the banks and multinational companies of Europe and North America.” As for the invasion of Afghanistan in 2002: That was deeply suspicious, natch—predicated as it was on the apparently shaky contention that Osama bin Laden was behind the 9/11 attacks. Bin Laden, Corbyn wrote in the Communist newspaper *Morning Star*, was fingered rather too quickly for his tastes. Perhaps, he suggested, the evidence had been “manipulated” to justify “an attack on the Taliban” and “regime change in Afghanistan.” *Perhaps*.

On the domestic front, Corbyn is mercifully a little less prone to conjecture. Nevertheless, he does appear to believe that the post-Thatcher pro-market consensus has been a horrible, horrible mistake, and that the voters who have demanded its preservation for more than three decades now are on the verge of a dramatic reversal. If the man’s most recent promises are to be believed, a Corbyn-led government would seek to abolish the monarchy; to unify Ireland; to renationalize the railways, the utility companies, and some of the banks; to reintroduce women-only train carriages on that newly renationalized railway system; to raise taxes on businesses and the wealthy; to reintroduce rent controls in London and other major cities; to instruct the Bank of England to print money in order to fund housing, energy, and transportation projects; to abolish the charitable status of private schools; to roll the country’s entire educational structure into a state-run “National Education Service”; and, if he has time, to impose a “maximum wage” on executives and other highly paid figures.

In the meantime, Corbyn’s shadow cabinet will go about formulating some of the most eccentric policy prescriptions of the modern era. The new shadow chancellor, John McDonnell, has promised that if he were to make it to the head of the treasury, he would fight for a

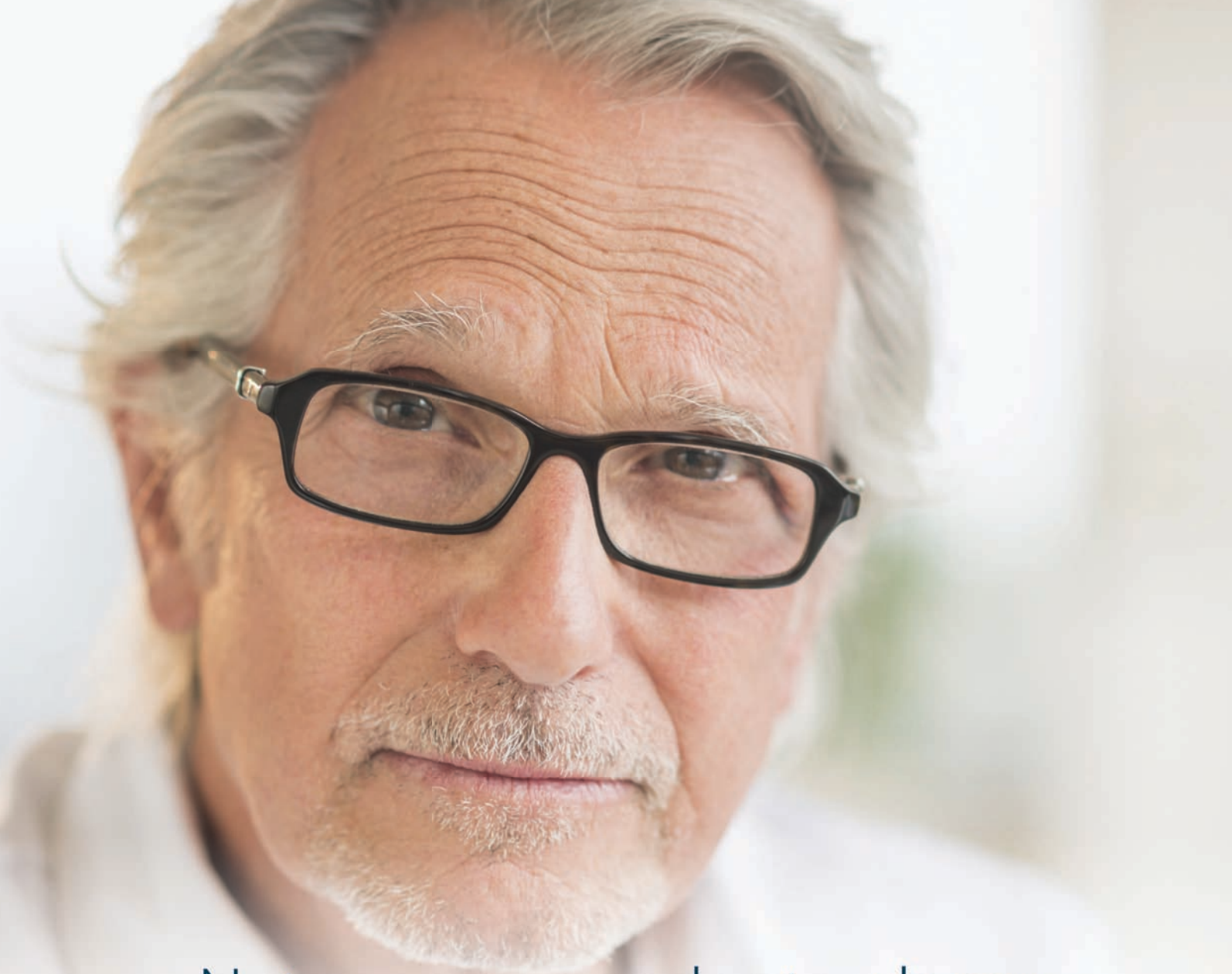
60 percent tax rate on the “rich” and—more bizarrely, perhaps—increase the payroll contributions made by those earning more than £50,000 per year by 7 percentage points. Asked a few years ago by *Who’s Who* what he did for pleasure when not at work in Parliament, McDonnell answered, “Fermenting [*sic*] the overthrow of capitalism.” This is not a man who messes around.

Nor, for that matter, does Corbyn’s shadow farming minister, Kerry McCarthy, who, in her role as a patron of the British Vegan Society, is a high-profile signatory to a declaration that all animal farming is unsustainable. “I really believe that meat should be treated in exactly the same way as tobacco,” McCarthy told bemused farmers in September, “with public campaigns to stop people eating it.” That should help Labour reconnect with rural voters!

Quite why Labour has chosen this moment to turn the party over to the kooks and the diehards is something of a mystery—especially given that, at all levels of government, the Conservatives are ascendant. In Parliament, Labour has been reduced to just 232 of the 650 seats, and, crucially, it has been wiped out in Scotland, a former stronghold. Locally, Labour has gone from controlling 47 percent of British councils in 1997 to controlling just one in four today. In Europe, Labour has only 27 percent of the parliamentary seats, less than half as many as UKIP and the Conservatives combined. Even in London, a city that could once be relied upon to return Labour politicians to office, voters now seem to prefer the Tory candidates for mayor. If Corbyn is an “indulgence,” as some observers have suggested, he’s a peculiarly timed one.

This summer, in the pages of the *Guardian*, moderate Labourites such as Tony Blair and David Miliband warned desperately that selecting Corbyn would serve not to reverse the rout but to complete it. The Labour party, Blair submitted in a dramatic phrase, was on the verge of “walking eyes shut, arms outstretched, over the cliff’s edge to the jagged rocks below.” Should it go down this road, he continued, it would not merely be beaten, as it had been under the hardliners of the 1980s; it would be “annihilated.” For all of his efforts, nobody listened—not even, it seems, for a single moment. He must have known how Orwell felt, back in 1937.

NR



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tors, and people who simply applied for a job more than I am," he says. One of the reasons it was so difficult to get a government job once upon a time was that before the OPM news expert describes as a "phone book" of federal employees with access to sensitive files are among those compromised by the series of security failures in the private information. The phone numbers are hack. There's something kind of beautiful about the fact that Home Depot, Target, and a lot more is, too: who in the government's using 18th-century health-care provider—without much of your neighbors are, where you went to technology—the U.S. Postal Service—to consequence. But he had a federal security high school, whom you roomed with in inform its employees and would-have-clearance, which means that there's a lot of college, foreign countries you've visited, been employees that it cannot handle any more sensitive information in his OPM connections you or your family may have thing more advanced.

Hack victims are being offered a year's worth of free identity protection and credit-number, my American Express number, be of some concern to you if you are monitoring services, which many have and a forgotten video of me insulting engaged in diplomacy or trade negotiations—characterized as inadequate. There have been disabled kids will show up on the screen—or espionage.

It's the world's greatest blackmail file. But of course the ChiComs—and If you think you've seen this movie disclaims government liability for any of everybody knows it was the ChiComs, before, you have: It was the plot of Brian that, of course—but for the vast majority and everybody knows that everybody de Palma's *Mission: Impossible*. You of federal workers it will be impossible to know it was the ChiComs, which made might remember that terrific set piece know whether such misfortunes are related to Xi Jinping's cretinous wan little grin as where Tom Cruise dangles from the ceiling to those OPM files. "The ineptitude and he shook hands with Barack Obama and in a harness when he has to break into lack of accountability rankles," says one announced a new cybersecurity agree- CIA headquarters to retrieve a top-secret federal worker, who adds that he mostly ment in September all the more unbearable list of intelligence operators. Remember worries about possible criminal use of his able—didn't hack the OPM because why he had to do that? Because the imagination—he doubts that he and his they wanted to run up bills at Armani—any federal government wanted to keep wife as big enough fish to be targeted by exchange on some unsuspecting bureau- its employee data secure, and for that reason foreign intelligence services. "Since we're crat's gold card. Their agenda is espionage the computer holding the data was nobodies, any consequences for us will be onage, blackmail, extortion, and murder. physically isolated from any network—if remote enough that we won't be able to They were looking for, among other you're not on a network, you can't be definitively trace them back to OPM— things, Standard Form 86, "Questionnaire hacked remotely. But the real-life federal that lack of accountability, again." for National Security Positions." OPM government isn't as good as the cinematic

Christopher Minakowski got his let-bosses dissembled to the public, Con- one—in real life, this stuff is connected to ter, too, but he is taking things in stride, and to journalists about whether the Internet. If you should read the Pentagon - "I know I should be more concerned that information had been accessed, but got's support literature on Scattered

arrive with modest levels of education. About one in four adult immigrants have not graduated from high school, a rate triple that of natives. Because immigrants earn wages that reflect their education levels, many are poor. This allows them or their children to qualify for welfare. Even among immigrant households without children, the share that uses welfare is significantly higher than that among their native-born counterparts (30 percent vs. 20 percent).

The SIPP data show that welfare use among less educated immigrants is extraordinarily high. In 2012, 76 percent of households headed by an immigrant who had not graduated from high

ers but also “build a wall around the welfare state.” The 1996 welfare-reform legislation tried to do this, however, and failed.

Advocacy groups’ efforts to scale back welfare restrictions, state and federal bureaucracies’ resistance to enforcing them, and subsequent changes to the 1996 law by Congress itself have all undermined restrictions that were not very strong to begin with. As a result, they apply to only a modest share of immigrants. Some programs are simply not restricted; there are numerous exceptions to restrictions on others; states often provide welfare with their own money and so are not bound by federal re-

estimate that 49 percent of legal-immigrant households receive welfare—a share not very different from the 51 percent, mentioned above, of legal- and illegal-immigrant households combined.

Legal immigrants also benefit from a greater variety of welfare programs. Illegal-immigrant adults can receive benefits via the Women, Infants, and Children program, and sometimes through Medicaid; illegal-immigrant households can do the same, but they also make extensive use of food programs and sign their children up for Medicaid at very high rates. Legal-immigrant households heavily use not only these programs, but also of those

Employers’ use of immigrant labor to fill low-wage jobs in agriculture, meat processing, hotels, restaurants, retail, construction, and other industries creates very large costs for taxpayers.

school used one welfare program or more, as did 63 percent of households headed by an immigrant with only a high-school education.

The overwhelming majority of immigrant households receiving welfare have at least one worker. But working does not always provide self-sufficiency. For example, a household of two children and a single parent earning \$20,000 a year qualifies for almost every non-cash welfare program. If the parent’s income is low in some months, the family may also receive cash assistance.

All of this means that employers’ use of immigrant labor to fill low-wage jobs in agriculture, meat processing, hotels, restaurants, retail, construction, and other industries creates very large costs for taxpayers. It would make far more sense to draw some of the 30 million working-age native-born Americans who have no more than a high-school education and are currently not working back into the labor market by reducing immigration and letting wages rise. Of course, less educated natives also use a lot of welfare, but they are already here and do not add a new cost.

It might be countered that we should continue to welcome immigrant work-

ers but also “build a wall around the welfare state.” The 1996 welfare-reform legislation tried to do this, however, and failed.

To give just one example, consider the requirement that new immigrants have sponsors who will provide financial support if they need it. An “indigent exception” allows them to receive welfare if they are poor (defined as making less than 130 percent of the federal poverty level), thereby negating the whole point of the sponsorship requirement, which was to make their welfare use unnecessary.

The most important reason that the 1996 welfare restrictions did not have their intended effect is that non-citizen immigrants can receive benefits on behalf of their U.S.-born children, who, as citizens, have access to all welfare programs. (They can receive welfare themselves if they are refugees, asylees, or have been here for more than five years.) Otherwise-ineligible immigrants, including those here illegally, can even live in public housing if they have a U.S.-born child. There is a native-born child present in 86 percent of illegal-immigrant households that receive welfare.

People often assume that the problem involves illegal immigrants only. But based, again, on the SIPP data, we

that provide cash assistance. They account for three-fourths of all immigrant households that receive welfare.

A common response to these facts is that immigrants in poverty use slightly less welfare than do poor natives. While this may be true for some programs (and not others), the argument ignores the fact that the poverty rate among immigrant families is about 50 percent higher than among natives. It also ignores the central policy question: Why allow in so many less educated immigrants in the first place, regardless of how they compare with native-born citizens who would be here anyway?

Another response is that, while immigrant households receive more welfare than native households, the difference in receipt of all government programs is smaller when Social Security is taken into account. It’s true that native households are currently more likely to receive Social Security than immigrant ones, but the data show that almost everyone—immigrant and native alike—eventually collects Social Security upon reaching retirement.

Still another reply is that immigrant households receive smaller average welfare payments than do native households

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participating in the same programs. But data from the SIPP show that this is simply not true: If anything, immigrants receive larger average benefits. For example, immigrant households getting benefits through Temporary Assistance for Needy Families received, on average, about \$2,900 in cash from the program in 2012, compared with roughly \$2,500 for native households. Immigrant households on food stamps and Supplemental Security Income also received larger annual payments than did native households on these programs.

Looking at welfare alone cannot establish whether immigrant households are a net fiscal drain. But on average, immigrant households have lower incomes, pay less in federal income and payroll taxes, and, of course, make more extensive use of welfare programs. And while estimating all tax payments and all costs for immigrant households is difficult, owing to limited data, calculations that have attempted to do so—such as those of the National Academy of Sciences (1997) and the Heritage Foundation (2013)—have found that immigrant households are a significant net fiscal drain.

Perhaps the most honest reply is that, as Bryan Caplan has argued in the *Cato Journal*, it is simply “morally impermissible” to limit immigration. One is certainly free to believe this, but one then must accept, as its correlate, that American citizens are obliged to pay the costs of an open-borders policy. Stating all of this forthrightly is better than pretending that immigration creates no fiscal burden for taxpayers.

Under the current system, some 20 to 25 million new legal immigrants will settle in the country in the next two decades. The overwhelming majority will be allowed to come because they have a relative here, not because of their work skills. Accordingly, if we want to avoid high immigrant welfare use in the future, we will have to implement a more selective legal-immigration system that admits, primarily, skilled immigrants who are unlikely to need welfare programs. We will also have to start enforcing laws against illegal immigration. Otherwise, we must accept without complaint the welfare costs that an unchanged system will continue to impose.

NR

Hung Up On Israel

An explanation for the sincere

BY JAY NORDLINGER

At the recent Republican presidential debate, many of the candidates mentioned Israel. Jeb Bush, for example, said that we need to reestablish “our commitment to Israel, which has been altered by this administration.” Carly Fiorina said that the first phone call she would make, from the Oval Office, would be to “my good friend Bibi Netanyahu.” Its purpose would be “to reassure him we will stand with the State of Israel.”

After the debate, some observers wondered, “Why so much attention to Israel? Are these people running for president of the United States or president of Israel?”

I myself have received similar questions over the years. People ask, sometimes with scorn, sometimes with sincere curiosity, “Why do you write so much about Israel? Why are you hung up on Israel?” I would think the answer were obvious. But if it were, people would not ask these questions. And honest questions deserve honest answers.

Israel is the only state whose very right to exist is called into question. (Ukraine, however, is beset with problems of its own. And Taiwan has well-founded anxieties.) Ever since it was born in 1948, people have tried to kill Israel. It is a tiny country amid enemies. Four wars of annihilation have been waged against it. There have been smaller conflicts as well, though still serious. Every day, Israel deals with Hezbollah, Hamas, and their like. And Iran has pledged to wipe it off the face of the earth.

I think Israel is a great and admirable state. I think Zionism is a great and admirable movement. The revival of Hebrew alone is one of the more astonishing developments of modern times. But Zionism aside, there is the fact that Israel was established a mere three years after the Holocaust. (Zionism began in the 19th century, remember.) Israel was established a mere three years after the ovens of Auschwitz and the rest stopped belch-

ing. Three years after two-thirds of European Jewry were murdered.

The Jews refused to disappear altogether. In Israel, they are living in sovereignty for the first time in 2,000 years. To begrudge the Jews their state, after the Holocaust, is particularly disgusting, I think.

People say that Israel has treated the Arabs badly. I disagree. Obviously, Israel has made mistakes, as people do. But that Israelis are more sinned against than sinning, I have no doubt. I also have no doubt that, as soon as the Palestinians and other Arabs are willing to coexist, there will be peace. I also know that Arabs serve in the Israeli parliament, heckling the prime minister. And that, when gays in the West Bank or Gaza are threatened with lynching, they flee to Israel.

You may not agree with me on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, or Zionism, and that is perfectly understandable. But consider: Israel is the most condemned nation of all 200 in the world, virtually a pariah state. Why? Isn't this a little odd? A little out of order?

William F. Buckley Jr. observed that, within every person, there is a tank of indignation. A person's supply of indignation is not inexhaustible. What does he spend it on? Many people spend a shocking percentage of their tank on Israel. “To be anti-Israel is not to be anti-Jewish!” they protest. True. But I also think of what Paul Johnson says: “Scratch a person who is anti-Israel, and you won't have to dig very far until you reach the anti-Semite within.”

Israel, encircled by enemies and threatened with destruction, should have *more* support than any other nation. Instead, it has the least.

The United Nations often seems to exist to oppose Israel. Since 2006, the U.N. Human Rights Council has condemned Israel 62 times. It has condemned the rest of the world a combined 59 times. (Syria is in second place, by the way, with twelve condemnations. North Korea has a paltry eight.)

There is a great BDS movement in the world—with “BDS” standing for “Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions.” This movement targets one country, and one country only: Israel. In 2013, Stephen Hawking accepted an invitation to attend a conference in Israel honoring Shimon Peres. Hawking is the British physicist, as you know. He is one of the most famous

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and most admired men in all the world. Peres is an Israeli statesman and dove. Under pressure, Hawking changed his mind about going to Israel, saying he needed to respect the BDS movement.

A glance at his travel record is illuminating. In 1973, Hawking went to the Soviet Union. In 2007, he went to Iran. The year before, he had gone to China, where, according to a state news agency, he was “treated to a Hollywood-style reception.” Hawking said, “I like Chinese culture, Chinese food, and, above all, Chinese women. They are beautiful.” Israeli women are pretty hot themselves. And they don’t live in a one-party police state



Survivors of Buchenwald in Haifa, July 1945

a gulag. Nor does Israel have a prison Nobel peace laureates, such as Shimon Peres. China does.

Travel now to Scotland, where the West Dunbartonshire Council forbids local libraries to carry Israeli books. More specifically, the libraries are forbidden to carry books printed in Israel. If they are by Israelis, but printed elsewhere—because Israel’s case is my case, where, that’s kosher. Not long ago, on Israel’s enemies are my enemies, and I of the libraries purchase *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, that infamous forgery, on grounds that people ought to read what they like.

Wherever they go in the world, Israel the athletes and musicians are harassed. In 2009, the Davis Cup was held in Sweden. (This is the annual tennis competition.) The Israelis had to play a match in an empty arena, because protests and other disruptions had been promised. For two years in a row, an Israeli female tennis player at the ASB Classic in New Zealand was screamed at. After one of the matches, the 22-year-old Shahar Peer said that the words had been handed under stand, “but I did hear my name all the time, which wasn’t really nice.”

In both London and Edinburgh, con-American of Irish descent. What would you think if, one day, Palin wore a pin and it.

disrupted. Prominent writers have defended those disruptions too, with music critic saying that the quartet was “fair game for hecklers.” A concert of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra at the BBC Proms was disrupted. One of the present said that the hall “had the atmosphere of a riot.”

In this general atmosphere, the was president today. Is it still Zuma? There is a great civilizational divide in the world, with the likes of ISIS and the mullahs on one side, and their prey on the other. Israel’s foes are our foes, or certainly my foes. If the world lets Israel go down, then the world is an ass, and the prospects of civilization itself are in doubt. So, yes, I did write a lot about Israel. I have been slammed as an “Israel First” (in imitation of the old, Lindberghian “America First”). I say again, the interview, I drew him aside and leave Israel alone, and it will get the treatment. Which it has longed for from the beginning.

ably think about Israel as much as I do, say, Uruguay. I don’t mean to offend Uruguay. But Uruguay almost never crosses my mind.

I used to know a lot about South Africa, as many others did. This was during apartheid days, when South Africa was a focus of world attention. We knew the big players, Mandela and Tutu, of course, but also others, such as Steve Biko, and Joe Slovo, and Helen Suzman, and Chief Buthe (I wish more people knew about an earlier chief and anti-apartheid leader, Albert Lutuli, who won the Nobel Peace Prize for 1960.) But after apartheid was overcome, South Africa hardly ever made the news. I would be hard pressed to tell you who

Shocking as it may seem, did you know that



basically human beings lack true authority? Anybody now acting on the seeming authority of people should consider the following:

First, the true authorities on this earth are the created laws of nature. Those natural laws are inviolable and self-enforcing, and only when obeyed do they provide right results.

Early in life babies are protected by others from harm, regarding these natural laws. Toddlers unknowingly learn that they get bumped and bruised by losing their balance, as gravity asserts its authority. Older children also learn lessons from natural laws when their actions do not conform to natural-law authority.

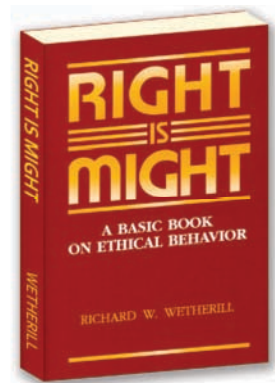
Clearly this is how the creator's laws that people now call Laws of Physics do govern everybody on earth.

However, decades ago Richard Wetherill identified a natural law of behavior. He named it the Law of Right Action—a law that requires mankind's thoughts, words, and actions to be **rational, honest, and morally right to get successful results.**

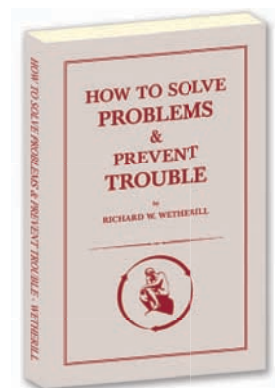
So as people unknowingly fail to obey the creator's behavioral law, wrong results persistently have been causing their deaths.

Resolve to obey this natural Law of Right Action and “live ye,” as the creator promised the Old Testament prophet Ezekiel ages ago.

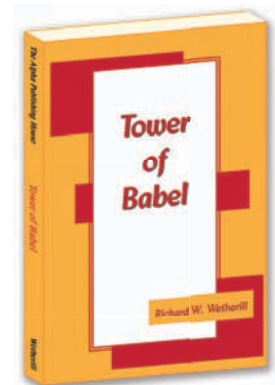
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Trump Wrongs the Right

But Republicans should still learn from him

BY RICHARD LOWRY & RAMESH PONNURU

It's almost impossible to fathom what an unusual can- How is that possible? Trump is truly a different kind of date Donald Trump is. Put aside his lack of political experience (except for his serial flirtations with running for president over the years). Never mind his violations of the Republican party and is heterodox or indeter- nearly every rule of thumb of politics shoot up, never down. Avoid throwing reporters out of your press conferences. Pretend you don't care about the polls. Maintain tight message discipline. Don't wear hats! Disregard his constant feuds with nearly everyone, his blatant self-contradiction on basic questions, and his general outlandishness. It is tempting to dismiss him as merely a buffoon, given his routinely buffoonish behavior, and to dismiss his supporters as ill informed and misguided. This is, indeed, the approach taken by many of his journalistic critics and a few of his rivals. But their denunciations of Trump and the Trump phenomenon have frequently been overwrought, taking the momentary enthusiasm of a large fraction of a party to stand for the end-convictions of the whole. Consider only these facts: Trump has been leading the polls for the Republican presidential nomination for months, and he basically never says "freedom" or "liberty." He gives no indication of caring about the Constitution. He talks only sparingly about the federal debt. He has, it is ignored central and longstanding conservative tenets that seemed to have become only more important in this party era—and he has not only gotten away with it, but thrived (so far). The other candidates better and the GOP more appealing.

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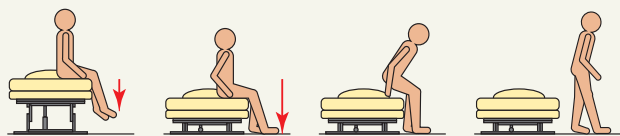
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Lately there has been a lot of press about the many benefits of a good night's sleep. When you wake up rested, everything from your memory and focus to your diet and stress levels can improve. Some even believe it can help you live longer. Unfortunately, many older Americans have to choose between comfort and safety in a bed. If it's too high or too low, getting in and out of bed (particularly in the middle of the night) can be dangerous. Hospital type beds feature adjustable heights and railings, but they are hardly comfortable. Now, thanks to innovative design and superior engineering, you get the best of both. Plus, with an infinite number of positions controlled by remote control, you can pick a custom position for sleeping, reading watching TV or just relaxing with your feet up! It looks just like a regular bed... not institutional, and the mattress is luxurious and features a natural bamboo quilted cover that's anti-bacterial, deodorizing and breathable.

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The most elemental reason for Trump's rise is that over the decades he has built a nearly universally recognized brand as a man in American life. When he didn't back down but doubled with toughness and success, and many Americans wobbled down, when he didn't quail in the face of Univision's that we are running out of both. Trump's business is kidnapping his beauty pageant but sued the network for \$500 famous—and he's really good at it. To be a media fixture for a million, Republicans wanted to stand and cheer. It wasn't some 30 years in New York (the media capital of the world) the spiritedness of it, it was the feeling that Trump's always finding the next new thing even when the last thing steadfastness in the face of the onslaught meant that the hasn't worked out so well, is no small feat. It speaks to a different cultural power was a little less sweeping than had ness, a drive, and a shamelessness that few can match. been thought.

When Trump brought these attributes to the Republican presidential race, it was like the ace major-league pitcher— in the sense of the use of social pressure to suppress getting sent down to Double-A on a rehab assignment, or an expression of widespread and legitimate viewpoints— accomplished Broadway actor's showing up at the community theater. He had skills no one could hope to match and was bigger than the stage. What is an unassuming midwesterner. While Trump's has hardly been an issue-driven governor compared with the star of a long-running TV program, the builder and marketer of skyscrapers with his name, an opportunistic restrictionist. After 2012, he scolded on them, and the "author" of multiple bestsellers?

As soon as he got in the race, Trump became the misbegotten. That didn't suggest that Trump would soon Malaysian plane of American politics. He meant easy viewers enough become the nation's foremost advocate of unhappiness and clicks (and, as with the cable, was the most obsessed phenonated deportation. of all the networks). Cable TV carried his rallies live and Trump clearly went where the energy was after the flap their entirety, as if he were already the nominee—except ahead of his announcement. He had hit a rich vein. Immigration nominee has to share the attention with another nominee, and one of the issues on which the elites in both parties are Trump didn't. He had it all to himself.

He careened from one controversy to the next, constantly wanting more immigration, but politicians in both parties transcending the last flap with a new one, as he fed the news favored "comprehensive immigration reform" that cycle and depended on limited nation spans to wipe away any tails it—and have rarely debated its merits. Most memory of what had come before. *didn't like that first debate* sures to enforce the immigration laws. *the other hand, are performance? Well, let me tell you something about Megyn Kelly.* overwhelmingly popular. *You didn't like the second? Let's talk about whether President* Trump has wandered around the map on immigration—as *Obama is a Muslim.* Trump may not have been consciously pure on most issues—but his basic thrust of more border security suing a strategy of distraction, but his endless provocations (the famous "Trump wall"), a crackdown on sanctuary cities, an end to the abuse of birthright citizenship, and an emphasis stituted one regardless.

Many of those provocations were less gross, and on the interests of American workers is popular even if unworthy, if not of Trump, then of anyone with a modicum. politicians don't talk about such priorities, at least not in his of respect for himself or others. But at his best Trump starts to terms. funny and refreshing. Giving out Lindsey Graham's phone number was hilarious, if juvenile. Kicking Jorge Ramos promises from the political class (one assurance after another of his press conference and then bringing him back for enforcement hasn't been met), Trump's can-do braggadocio and frank exchange was great showmanship. The helicopter strikes a chord. The less he sounds like most politicians, the rides for kids at the Iowa State Fair were a delightfully Willy Wonka-esque escapade. more credible and plausible he seems.

None of this will or can be replicated by anyone else. The angry discontent with American institutions—and especially of conservative discontent with the Republican leadership in Congress. There are limits to what any Republican Congress could achieve with President Obama in the White

By the normal rules of American public life, his campaign announcement, with its careless implication that everything would, in some unspecified way, change for widespread criminality among Mexican immigrants, the better after they won a majority in 2014. It didn't. And would have been the end of him, or at least ended the congressional party's post-2014 agenda of "regular shame-faced retreat. We all know it goes: A social-media order" wasn't going to inspire anyone besides a few subcommittee chairmen. The leadership has been unimaginative and them. Then the target inevitably gives in. We'd seen him advanced or even articulated a bold conservative policy dynamic play out in the months prior to Trump's announcement. House speaker John Boehner and Senate majority ment, when the State of Indiana quickly buckled to a president. Mitch McConnell came for many Republicans to campaign over its Religious Freedom Restoration Act, and to amplify what's wrong with politics.

less significantly, when a British scientist who wore a shield. One way to view Trump is as the complete rejection of that feminists deemed offensive apologized, and groveled, McConnell. The Senate has the ultimate insider and an and cried. institutionalist. He is circumspect, thoughtful, well informed

on both policy and American history, and a quiet man who is always in control of himself. Trump is none of the above. But in the current environment, his contempt for every political piety, his ignorance of the political process and policy, and his impolitic statements are a powerful credential. They certainly beat having successfully governed anything.

So Republicans of many stripes have had reasons, especially months before any actual voting, to cheer him on. If your top voting issue is immigration, then the candidate who made it his signature issue was bound to be attractive. For Republicans who had grown exasperated or infuriated with their party's leadership, not even Ted Cruz could better represent a rejection of it. Cruz, after all, has been in the Senate. For voters who mostly tune out politics, Trump was a star, and a relentlessly entertaining one.

BUT while Trump's appeal to various groups may be understandable, he makes a terrible champion for Republicans, and especially for conservatives. By the standards we typically use to evaluate candidates—their

their government smaller, for his efforts is absent from his shtick. His contempt for the political class is rooted in conceit, not conservatism: They haven't governed well because they're supposedly not as smart as he is. Other candidates denounce crony capitalism as a betrayal of the national creed. Trump tells us how good he is at it.

Even on immigration, Trump cannot be trusted to maintain a position over the span of a day. He wants native-born Americans to get high-tech jobs, according to his "white paper"; he wants to import high-skilled immigrants to do them, according to his interviews. He wants to build a wall, he says, unlike other Republicans; he might erect a bunch of barriers instead, he says, just like everyone else. His policy document doesn't mention mass deportation; he can't stop talking about it. And he has never even sought to explain how he went from blasting Romney after the 2012 election for being too harsh toward Hispanics to suggesting today that a lot of Mexican immigrants are rapists.

Which brings us to another reason Trump would be a disastrous champion for conservatives: He taints and discredits the important cause of controlling immigration, and would

While Trump's appeal to various groups may be understandable, **he makes a terrible champion for Republicans**, and especially for conservatives.

records, their views, their popularity with the general public, their experience, their temperament, their character—Trump should be dismissed out of hand. No candidate is perfect, but large numbers of conservatives have never before supported any candidate so obviously deficient in all of these respects.

That Trump has a long history of liberal positions that extends even into the fairly recent past should not by itself be disqualifying. Conservatism has always welcomed converts. But conservatives have also expected some demonstrated commitment to their principles, some action that advanced their causes, before seeking to elevate a convert to high office. When Mitt Romney ran for the Senate in 1994, for example, he tried to distance himself from Reagan-era conservatism. He later moved right. But even on his least conservative day, Romney was arguing for a smaller government and lower taxes (and for an end to Ted Kennedy's career). Trump, by contrast, has done essentially nothing for any conservative cause prior to deciding to run for the Republican presidential nomination.

For that matter, the evidence that Trump is actually a convert—that he is today a conservative—is scant. In part this is because he is so cavalier in describing what he would do as president. Usually he simply assures us that he will have the best people working on an issue, that they will come up with terrific plans, and that the results will overjoy us. In itself this patter suggests that he respects neither the presidency nor his supporters. But it's also telling that he rarely specifies that these great people will be conservatives, or that conservative principles (assuming he can name any) will guide them. Even the suggestion that Americans would be freer, or

do the same to conservatism generally in the unlikely event that he became the nominee. Deterring illegal immigration and reducing legal immigration would serve the rule of law, promote national cohesion, and help both native-born and immigrant low-wage workers. This agenda is routinely dismissed, however, as an expression of nostalgia for a whiter country—or worse. Every time Trump suggests that people who have come here from Mexico are mostly drug runners and murderers, he makes it easier to think that legitimate conservative concerns about immigration are tantamount to racism.

Trump's discarded wives and his habit of making gross sexual insults of women also make it easier for liberals to campaign against Republicans' supposed "war on women." Perhaps one or two of Trump's comments were not as disgusting as they have generally been taken to be: Maybe he didn't mean to suggest that Fox anchor Megyn Kelly asked him tough questions because she was menstruating. But look at the whole pattern—his repeated attacks on her as a "bimbo," his slam of Carly Fiorina's face, his description of other women as pigs—and it's clear that these bits of ugliness are not gaffes so much as a way of life.

Trump responds to this kind of criticism by casting himself as a brave dissenter from political correctness. Here, too, he discredits a worthy cause. Conservatives and some honorable liberals have stood up against the oversensitivity and censorship of legitimate political viewpoints that has spread from college campuses over the last three decades. Trump appears to confuse simple decency with PC. Republicans should not embrace this confusion by cheering him on.

BUT while Trump is not a conservative and does not deserve conservatives' support, Republicans can nonetheless learn from him. Most politicians cannot hope to match Trump's flair for the dramatic and should not try to compete with him in displays of narcissism or contempt. But politicians have been known to cultivate excitement and glamour—think of Reagan, or Bill Clinton, or Obama. These qualities have been missing from Republican politics for a long time. Republicans could, without going the full Trump, stand to be a little less apologetic and defensive under media criticism.

For weeks, Trump simultaneously stayed on top of the polls and promised to raise taxes on rich people. His eventual proposal on taxes bore no resemblance to that promise, which is a good thing: The federal government needs to slim down not be given more sustenance. But the fact that Trump's polling did not suffer even a modest drop after his soak-the-rich comments should tell other Republicans that the priorities of the donors they meet at fundraisers are not the same as those of the voters whose support they need. Cutting taxes is generally desirable, but Republicans need not base all their economic and budget policies on slashing tax rates on the highest earners.

Trump's Republican rivals should change their approach to immigration, too. They don't need to endorse his quixotic campaign to end birthright citizenship. But more of them ought to acknowledge that experience has raised deep and justified doubts about promises of immigration enforcement following an amnesty. The best way to allay this concern is for enforcement to come first. Only later, after establishing that granting legal status to illegal immigrants here will not lead to a greater influx of illegal immigrants, should an amnesty be considered. Republicans should acknowledge, as well, that the country has no pressing need for a vast expansion in the number of people doing skilled labor. Such a policy should have no place in any immigration compromise.

A Republican party that promised fewer tax cuts for the rich and less cheap labor would have less to offer some of its top donors but it would have a stronger connection to its voters. Many of those donors, being wise investors, would accept the trade.

Even Trump's failure to discuss freedom and limited government contains a lesson for other Republicans, who can hit home as he does. His monotonous rhetoric of national strength is also powerful and must be part of the Right's song sheet (preferably without Trump's plonking bombast—the point is to advertise national confidence, not insecurity).

Trump's support has drifted downward of late. It may be that this reality show is beginning to lose its interest. But the attraction of a large minority of Republicans to him, even if it proves momentary, has a grim parallel in the experience of European conservative parties. In many countries, the Right has split in two as respectable parties eschewed nationalist themes, especially support for tighter restrictions on immigration, and new parties arose that picked up those causes in an irresponsible way.

Trump is unlikely to be the Republican nominee and will probably not even be a serious threat to Republicans as a third-party candidate next year. But he has exposed and widened the fissures on the American right. If conservatives are to thrive, they must figure out how to respond creatively, sensibly, and honorably to the public impulses he has so carelessly exploited.

Finally, The Recount

*Looking back at WFB's 1965
mayoral campaign*

BY NEAL B. FREEMAN

OUR text today is a pair of classic Buckley quips from the great 1965 vintage. People who remember nothing else about William F. Buckley Jr.'s brief foray into elective politics recall his reply when asked what he would do if elected mayor of New York: He would “demand the recount.” And they remember, as well, his response when asked how he felt as he emerged from a meeting with the editorial board

of the *New York Times*: He felt as if he had “just passed through the Berlin Wall.”

Somewhere in my attic is a photograph of Bill's introductory press conference. He is grinning wolfishly and I am wincing in pain. He has just been asked what he would do as his first act of office and we both know what was coming next. He had come up with the “recount” crack a few weeks earlier and I had urged him not to use it in public. It was a Buckley-grade witticism, to be sure, but it was not likely to be good for unit morale. But Bill was a writer and not a politician, which is to say that he was constitutionally incapable of letting a great line go unused. He thus proceeded to roll it across the press room with perfect timing and to predictable effect. Merriment bounced off all four walls.

As we all have come to learn, painfully or otherwise, japes have consequences. Before even the first news cycle had expired, a press narrative had begun to take shape: that Bill's campaign was something of a lark, some elaborate form of self-entertainment.

In the dismissive parlance of the day, Bill's was “not a serious campaign,” whatever that might be. Our fundraising receipts, never torrential, slowed to a dribble, and the volunteer effort flagged. The Buckley for Mayor campaign was off and limping.

What turned it around, I would like to report, was the incandescent performance of our candidate, ingenious stratagems devised by management, and a flawless, five-borough ground game executed by our vaunted field operation. It would be more accurate to say, however, that what turned the campaign around was a scheduling quirk.

In the early days, before we had learned a thing or two about crowd management, we felt free to expose Bill to large groups of self-selected citizens. Most of these exchanges were high-minded, even civic-virtuous in tone. But when an ideological hatch touched dry tinder, a raging rhetorical fire could break out.

One meeting with a group of excitable feminists, for instance, became a high-decibel, low-information event, and I

(This article is adapted from the foreword to the new edition of The Unmaking of a Mayor.)

NR

DOCTOR'S MEMORY BREAKTHROUGH

New Discovery for People with Failing Memory

World's Leading Brain Expert and Winner of the Prestigious Kennedy Award, Unveils Exciting News For the Scattered, Unfocused and Forgetful

By Steven Wuzubia
Health Correspondent;

Clearwater, Florida: Dr. Meir Shinitzky, Ph.D., is a former visiting professor at Duke University, recipient of the prestigious J.F. Kennedy Prize and author of more than 200 international scientific papers on human body cells. But now he's come up with what the medical world considers his greatest accomplishment — A vital compound, so powerful, it's reported to repair... even regrow damaged brain cells. In layman's terms — Bring back your memory power. And leave you feeling more focused and clear-headed than you have in years!

Dr. Shinitzky explains this phenomenon in simple terms; "Science has shown when your brain nutrient levels drop, you can start to experience memory problems and overall mental fatigue. Your ability to concentrate and stay focused becomes compromised. And gradually, a "mental fog" sets in. It can damage every aspect of your life". Not only do brain cells die but they become dysfunctional as if they begin to fade away as we age. This affects our ability to have mental clarity and focus and impacts our ability to remember things that were easy for us to do in our 20's and 30's.

Scientists think the biggest cause of brain deterioration in older people is the decreased functioning of membranes and molecules that surround the brain cells. These really are the transmitters that connect the tissues or the brain cells to one another that help us with our sharp memory, clear thinking and mental focus, even our powers to reason well. "When we are in our 20's" according to Dr. Shinitzky "our body produces key substances like phosphatidylserine and phosphatidic acid"...unfortunately they are believed to be critical essential nutrients that just fade away with age, much like our memories often do leading to further mental deterioration.

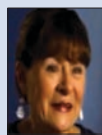
As we get older it becomes more frustrating as there is little comfort when you forget names... misplace your keys...or just feel "a little confused". And even though your foggy memory gets laughed off as just another "senior moment," it's not very funny when it keeps happening to you.

The Missing Link is Found and Tested

It's hard to pronounce that's for sure, but it certainly appears from the astounding clinical research that this one vital nutrient phosphatidylserine (PS) can really make a huge difference in our mental wellness. 17 different double blind studies with placebo controlled groups have been involved in the clinical research of PS with patients between the ages of 55-80 years of age. Periodically the researchers gave these patients memory and cognitive tests and the results were simply amazing:

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- 3) *After 90 days, there was an impressive and amazing improvement in mental function*

The group taking phosphatidylserine, not only enjoyed sharper memory, but listen to this... they were also more upbeat and remarkably more happy. In contrast, the moods of the individuals who took the placebo (starch pill), remained unaffected....no mental or mood improvement at all.



My Memory Started to Scare Me.

I would forget all kinds of things and something that I just said earlier in the day would have completely slipped my mind. I almost forgot my granddaughter's birthday and that would have been horrible. I had forgotten lots of other little things along the way. I was worried about it.

Over the last several months I've noticed my memory seemed to be getting pretty unreliable and so I thought I'd better do something about it now. So when I read about this amazing PS nutrient and how much it would help me with my memory I wanted to try it.

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Thanks to PS for giving me my memory back. It's given me a lot more self-confidence and self-esteem. I would not trust my memory without it.

- Ethel Macagnoney



Dr. Meir Shinitzky, Ph.D. a former visiting professor at Duke University and a recipient of the prestigious J.F. Kennedy Prize

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had no ready answer when Bill asked me later, “Remind me why we did that, would you?”

On another occasion, Bill and I found ourselves the whites in a large room packed with angry black voters. They were angered by what they perceived to be Bill’s unthinking support for a racist police force, the NYPD. Needless to say, the game was on.

Back and forth they went. Bill and his audience talked about crime. Black crime. Black-on-white crime. Black-on-black crime. And they talked about leadership: community leaders and moral leadership. It was a long, hot 90 minutes and Bill sweated through his preppy, blue button-down, the stains spreading down his flanks. Discount this judgment for sycophancy if you like, but he was magnificent. By the end of the meeting, something had changed.

There remained not a single person in that room who thought Bill’s views on race and crime were unthinking. He was informed and maintained an intellectual clarity throughout the raucous colloquy. His audience listened to him and gave him their respect, if not their support.

For his part, Bill became a changed candidate. As a polemic for a little magazine, he had been poking liberal shibboleths through the bars of a cage. As a candidate on the big stage, he was poking those shibboleths from inside the cage. There was no place to hide now. He was fighting for his public life.

There were two other changes that day. The first occurred within and around our security detail. Now, I can’t say with confidence whether it happened that day or a month earlier. A month later, but I can say with absolute certainty the summer of 1965 the NYPD fell in love with Bill Buckley. It didn’t mean just the Irish and Italians, either, but the black, Hispanic, and Asian cops, too. Bill was stating their case with eloquence and verve and doing so at a time when few other public figures would stand with them. (Not unlike today, in 1965 there were reputable people and reputable publications who claimed it.)

There is an apostrophic point that must be made here. It should be remembered that Bill Buckley was conservative long before conservatism was cool. In 1965, he was not seen to be the charming, white-shoe Yaleite that retrospective analyses have portrayed.

He was, in the contemporaneous view, a black-shoe cop-lover, fronting for dark forces that the elite media professed to fear: He was the “tip of the spear” of a reactionary Right. So let us pause here to salute those who joined our cause in the early days, when the historical outcome could not be known and the risk to professional reputation was palpable. Let us pause to salute Jim Buckley, who played flawlessly the role he was born to play—older and wiser brother of the candidate; Don Pemberton (our indispensable man in Brooklyn); Art Andersen (who kept our books almost balanced); Aggie Schmidt (Bill’s tireless amanuensis); Phil Nicolaides and Geoff Kelly (our admaking Mad Men); Kieran O’Doherty (the Conservative-party stalwart who worked like the very cliff of cardiac incident); Marvin Liebman (who produced our rallies and carbonated our staff meetings); and the sturdiest warrior of them all, William Rusher (he of the Princeton and Harvard pedigree who gave his aging mother palpitations by departing a Wall Street law firm for a little magazine with only a tenuous grip on respectability). These were the winter soldiers of our revolution. Times change, happily. Only a few years later, by which time Bill had become the toast of the town and his



New York City mayoral candidates in debate, 1965

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wife, Pat, began to adorn the Best Dressed lists, it didn't help. The press couldn't help themselves. They liked de rigueur to embrace the advice Nixon had famously given them even became his pals. (It was during the 1960s and do the easy and popular thing, which was to make your way Bill became lifelong friends with the grizzled and bristly into the fabulous social circle of Bill and Pat Buckley-Kempton, who, while he wrote for a downmarket lefty rag, seemed to reserve special affection for the candidate who persisted in talking over the heads of his press advisers.)

It shouldn't have come as a surprise for us to find a thickening file of threats made against Bill. It shouldn't have, but it did, anyway. The reports were swirling, pressed by Bill's courage. His courage, that is, in both its literal and moral forms. It was Bill and only Bill who was with bloody-minded crazies, many of them on a mission to take one higher power or another. (I note for the record that I was more rattled by these reports than was our imperturbable handlers, who busied themselves clearing voter-friendly date. To borrow Ben Bradlee's description of one of the great men, Bill was lucky if he had me as an intrepid reporters, Bill clanked when he walked.) duty cop in tow. The press noticed.

What lifted our spirits (and lowered blood pressure) Again, I can't tell you which hour of which day it was a follow-on briefing by an emissary from the NYPD. The press narrative began, finally, to shift. At first cops were all in, thoroughly prepared to take fast, discreet, and then more, and then at last the full mawlin professional action in whatever contingencies might begin. To concede that maybe, just maybe, Bill was a slob. Nobody was likely to mess with a single hair on campaign. One of the legendary McCandlish Phillips of their man Buckley. File closed. As was his habit, the *New York Times*, began to toy with another idea: Perhaps the main line came from Bill Rusher, who sat in on Bill's very serious campaign. threat meetings. Rusher of the crazies, "I'm beginning to feel sorry for these poor bastards." By Labor Day, Rusher was. This was 1965, remember, in a land far away was copacetic. We had come to feel that the safest place to have been only one of seven New York daily of New York City, safer even than Grand Central Station (not counting *the Street Journal*, which was dense straight-up noon, was to be standing next to Bill Buckley in a publication in those days), but its stature was enhanced by the blandly taxonomic phrase *inter pares*. *The Times*

There was another change. It took place, asymptotically, just open and close Broadway shows and puff up Bill might have described it, among the regular press corps, snuff out political aspirants. It set the agenda for municipal elections, some of whose members were grumpy about their assignments—and then coined the vocabulary in which it would be conducted. Campaign coverage in those days was assumed to be a ticket to a regular gig at *Contemporary Culture* with which to compare the dominance of the winning candidate pulling in his own beat reporters. Since *New York Times*.

Early on, the press was of one mind, with their impression of himself surrounded not just by the editorial wing of the principal candidates from presupposition. John Lindsay? He was *agreed*, he was *liberal*, he was who would put their chops on it, but by reporters and mahvelous *until he opened his mouth*, and he was destined for the principal beats—transportation, education, housing, to wine *(ah, probably)*. Abe Beame? He was a *colossal* care, and the rest. Bill rounded, *surf you will*, by bureaucrat and a machine *Democrat* (argument there). contemporary liberalism's A-Team. The next two hours would

Short in stature and shorter still on *character*, he had prove to be a real education. For them. a fighting chance, at least if the unions *got in* gear. This is unsubstantiated surmise on my part, but that *maybe, I supposed*. Bill Buckley? He was a Creature from the Hard-Right Lagoon, his chances pegged between *slight* and none and doubtless closer to the *WHB* *concurring*, close encounter. *alas*). Presuppositions are a durable barrier against improvement of that surmise, I offer only this shred of understanding. They died hard.

In 1965, the format of choice for opinionmongers was neither a cable-TV slot nor a radio talk show. It was the syndicated gotcha patrol—that cold-stare vigil for the verbal slipshod column. In the mid Sixties, there were hundreds of them, could be inflated into categorical *against* women, gays, nationally syndicated features, three of which—three!—could be blacks, Jews, Latinos, Asians, fat people, short people, fairly described as conservative. There was David Lawrence, variously challenged people, not to mention common sense and old *Madison* *News & World Report*, who was by impaired people—they stayed for *both* *motifs* that Bill that stage of his career more old than grand *father*. There was sprinkled around promiscuously, as if they were beads on a string. Good *thump* was William F. Buckley Jr., the leader of an *old* *conservatism*. Bill Buckley was the new new thing. And it didn't hurt that he was running against *Beame*. Bill did not, of course, win the endorsement of the feet-five-inches of banality, and six-foot-three- Bill did not, of course, win the endorsement of the inches of vapidity. (Beame and Lindsay seemed *Times*. But he won the argument. And everybody in the quotable only when quoting Bill, usually in high, *literary*



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I AM still contacted from time to time by people who have stumbled upon, and then become fascinated by, the Buckley campaign of 1965: historians, political scientists, city planners, journos, pols. They sense that something special happened, something heuristic. One conversation with an eager-beaver thesis writer, according to my notes, went this way:

EBTW: Mr. Freeman, can you confirm that the Buckley campaign issued 22 policy proposals?

NBF: No, I can't confirm that, but it sounds ballparkish.

EBTW: Can you confirm that 20 of those proposals were subsequently adopted by New York mayors—many by Giuliani, some by Koch, and the remaining few by Bloomberg?

NBF: No, but you may well be correct.

EBTW: You don't sound surprised.

NBF: No, not at all.

Well, that's the essence of our story, isn't it? Why were we not surprised by the serial successes of the Buckley campaign? We were not surprised, I would submit, because we recognized that what Bill Buckley was preaching in 1965, and what he would practice for the rest of his life, was the politics of reality: the certain knowledge that, over the course of time and under the weight of experience, ideological abstraction will yield ultimately to either the obdurate facts of public finance or the timeless imperatives of the human spirit. One or the other. What Bill Buckley taught us was that there is not only a conservative way to raise the young and care for the old. There is a conservative way to collect the garbage and shovel the snow.

It's been 50 years now since Bill Buckley demanded a recount. Perhaps we owe him one. So let's pop the big one: Who really won that race back in 1965? The best answer to that question may be another question: Is anybody publishing an anniversary collection of the speeches and papers of John Lindsay or Abe Beame? Anybody? Anybody?

SHORTLY after Election Day, Bill invited me to a postprandial meeting at the New York Yacht Club. Something was up. Bill held all of his important meetings off-site, as the walls of NR's warren-office had ears and the interruptions were incessant.

I had picked up a rumor that Bill would be moving to Switzerland to take on what we had long referred to as the Big Book. For several years past, Bill had been urged by both mentors (Willmoore Kendall and others) and protégés (me and others) to write a serious work of political philosophy, a Big Book that would make Bill's bones as a heavyweight intellectual. Journalism was fine, we thought, but scholarship was better: A Big Book was exactly what was needed to undergird Bill's burgeoning career as he reached age 40. We even had a title teed up, "The Revolt against the Masses," with the book intended as a rebuttal to and extension of Ortega y Gasset's classic work, *The Revolt of the Masses*. I was intrigued. Perhaps what I needed as a restorative was a bit of head-clearing, long-form work.

Bill and I had a drink and began to swap campaign stories, at one point laughing so hard that a club employee was dispatched to restore house decorum. Good luck with that. It was a time for laughing.

As a second drink arrived, Bill turned to business. He reported with enthusiasm that a publisher had offered a handsome advance

for a book on the campaign. Bill wanted to do it, both to inscribe the record indelibly and, I suspected, to relitigate some of the campaign spats. He said that I would be "indispensable" to the project and outlined a generous financial arrangement, ski passes very much included.

I don't know whether my heart sank, but my shoulders sagged. The last thing I wanted to do was to wallow in campaign minutiae for another four or five months. I had raccoon eyes and needed to get my teeth fixed and get my license renewed and begin the city-wide search for the dry cleaner who was holding my clothes in some undisclosed location. If Bill had offered me the 70 virgins of martyrdom, I would have countered at 35. I needed a break.

I loved Bill and I hated saying no to him, but this was a mission for which I could find no motivation. So after two years of dawn-to-dinner collaboration, we agreed to go our separate ways, he to do the campaign book and I to develop a television project. The meeting did not end well.

But the story did, almost serendipitously so. While he may have set off to write a quickie campaign book, what Bill came back with was *The Unmaking of a Mayor*. Here we are a half century later and people who would understand American urbanology or the history of New York City or the beginnings of the modern conservative movement still feel obliged to read and ponder and come to terms with it. Over the course of his hyperproductive career, Bill wrote 54 books—all of them readable, many of them consequential, one of them a classic. *Unmaking* became, quite inadvertently, Bill's Big Book and cemented his reputation as a public intellectual of the first rank.

The television project worked out, too. The series debuted in the spring of 1966 as *Firing Line*, hosted by William F. Buckley Jr., and it ran for more than 30 years.

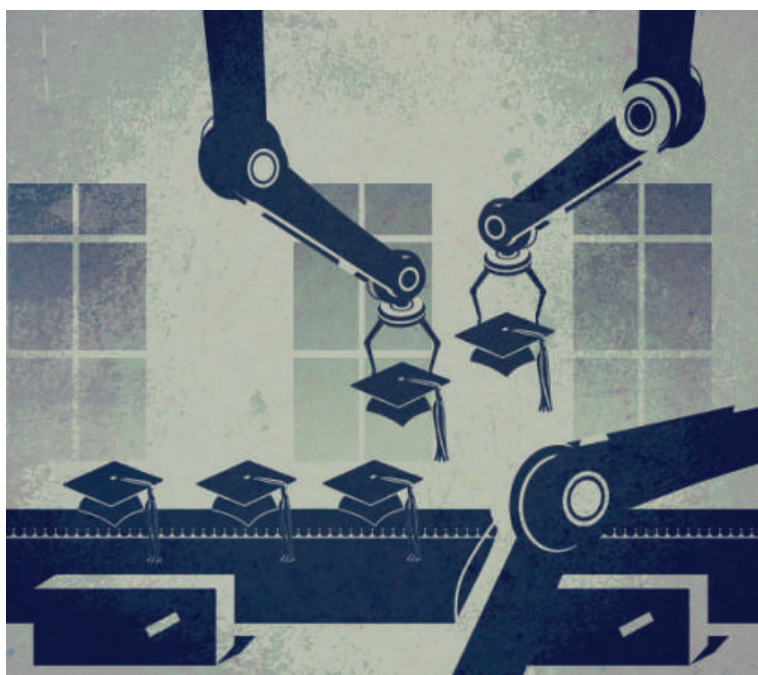
POSTSCRIPT: In my personal calculation, Bill's signal contribution to A.D. 1965 was to introduce me to his new office manager, Miss Jane Metze of Harriman, N.Y. She was highly attractive and a constant distraction, a distraction, in fact, to which I have chosen to ascribe all responsibility for the rookie mistakes recounted in Bill's book.

There were rivals for the attention of Miss Metze. Being a charitable sort, I will leave the married celebrity unnamed. Of the others, the most formidable was the journalist John Phillips, a big, rawboned fellow with hands that could palm basketballs. John was a diligent reporter and a fine writer, and his copy made for good reading. Until one morning, that is, when, lingering over a campaign breakfast of coffee (black) and pizza (cold), I came upon a reference to Miss Metze as a "honey blonde with an oozy voice." Really, John!

When John showed up at headquarters that morning, I accosted him, pushing the newspaper into his chest and saying in a voice louder than necessary, "This is beneath even you, John. Using the *New York* frigging *Times* as a dating service!" My sworn testimony is that the legendary John Phillips, who wrote under the fancypants byline "McCandlish Phillips" . . . *blushed*.

On an impulse never regretted, Miss Metze and I were married on a cold day in March 1966. Bill was still in Switzerland, dashing down mountains and dashing off books. Just before the service was to begin I received a telegram. It was signed by General Pulaski and it read, "I won't be attending your wedding if you won't attend my goddamn parade."

NR



Text

The Cost of ‘Free’ College

It will reduce quality without guaranteeing higher enrollment

BY ANDREW P. KELLY

THERE are many good reasons to compete for students by offering lower prices and better value, they argue, the increased enrollment. And imposing new “free college.” The massive fees at will and left policymakers power-what little creative energy and innovation do exist.

price tag, the favoritism toward the less to do anything about it. Admittedly, the market is imperfect. What does “free” actually mean here?

public sector, the federal coercion—all are legitimate concerns. Students lack clear, comparable information on the cost and quality of different college—tuition-free college, debt-free college. Free-college plans would move American post-secondary options. Schools compete with one another on such things as spending (with money provided for living expenses), no-loan tuition (for which higher education from being a voucher-based market to being a government-administered “public option.” the value of the education they provide, but they share some basic features.

For a half century, federal funding has flowed to students in the form of vouchers at any program at nearly any price, creating two years of community-college tuition, and students have had the power to choose from an array of providers—public, private, and for-profit. The federal government has had little direct control over colleges, relying instead on third-party accreditation agencies and market competition to ensure quality.

A growing number of progressives—including prominent Democratic politicians—have soured on this voucher-based approach. Instead of compelling schools to contain their costs.

Mr. Kelly is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and the director of its Center on Higher Education Reform.

Rather than work to fix the market, however, the Left wants to scrap it altogether. Free-college proposals are designed to move us away from the decentralized, voucher-based approach and toward one where federal funding flows directly to public institutions that are subject to federal rules. Proposals from President Obama, Bernie Sanders, and not go as far as Sanders’s plan, it would Hillary Clinton would all send federal subsidies directly to states and colleges and create no-loan tuition at public

The problem is, these proposals won’t do what progressives think they will. To be clear, the price of college should indeed be dramatically lower—not only at public institutions but across the board. When governors, colleges, and entrepreneurs work to create lower-cost pathways for students, we should applaud.

Ultimately, though, price is less important than value: what students get in return for their time and money. Shifting costs from students to taxpayers is not the same as making higher education more cost-effective. While federal funds, price caps, and rules can bring public-tuition costs down temporarily, they will have a harder time improving quality and cost-effectiveness. Doing that will require addressing the wasteful spending and disappointing results that have been the consequence of current higher-education policy, which has provided easy money and demanded little or no accountability.

Not only will free college fail to solve these problems, it may well create new ones. Providing a free public option might actually diminish some students’ chances of finishing a degree. Tuition

Not only will free college fail to solve these problems, it may well create new ones. Providing a free public option might actually diminish some students’ chances of finishing a degree. Tuition

What does “free” actually mean here?

There are a few varieties of free college—tuition-free college, debt-free college (with money provided for living expenses), no-loan tuition (for which higher education from being a voucher-based market to being a government-administered “public option.” the value of the education they provide, but they share some basic features.

President Obama has proposed to make two years of community-college tuition free for high-school graduates who row prudently or for institutions to adjusted gross income does not exceed \$200,000. Any students who are eligible for Pell grants might have their tuition covered and could spend grant aid on other expenses. Insurgent presidential hopeful Bernie Sanders, meanwhile, has called for \$750 billion in federal funding to eliminate tuition at public four-year colleges. And while Hillary Clinton’s “new college compact” does not go as far as Sanders’s plan, it would send federal subsidies directly to states and colleges to provide tuition-free community colleges and create no-loan tuition at public

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Considered by many to be one of the best political books ever written, *National Review* is thrilled to announce a new "Fiftieth Anniversary" edition of Bill Buckley's classic candidate memoir, *The Unmaking of a Mayor*.

Could it be a half century *already* since Buckley launched his famous Conservative Party effort to become mayor of New York City, an effort that revitalized—indeed, *saved*—the conservative moment, flat on its back from the 1964 Goldwater drubbing? It is. And the Golden Anniversary is well worth celebrating, heralding a seat-of-the-pants campaign that captivated the nation. Yes, it failed, as Bill captured just 13% of the vote on Election Day, with liberal Republican John Lindsay emerging as the next Mayor of New York. But: Did it *really* fail? In fact, the effort *prevailed*, in large, historic, and consequential ways, as Candidate Buckley, by dint of his persona, moxie, wit, verve, and intelligence, revived and resuscitated the conservative movement from coast to coast.

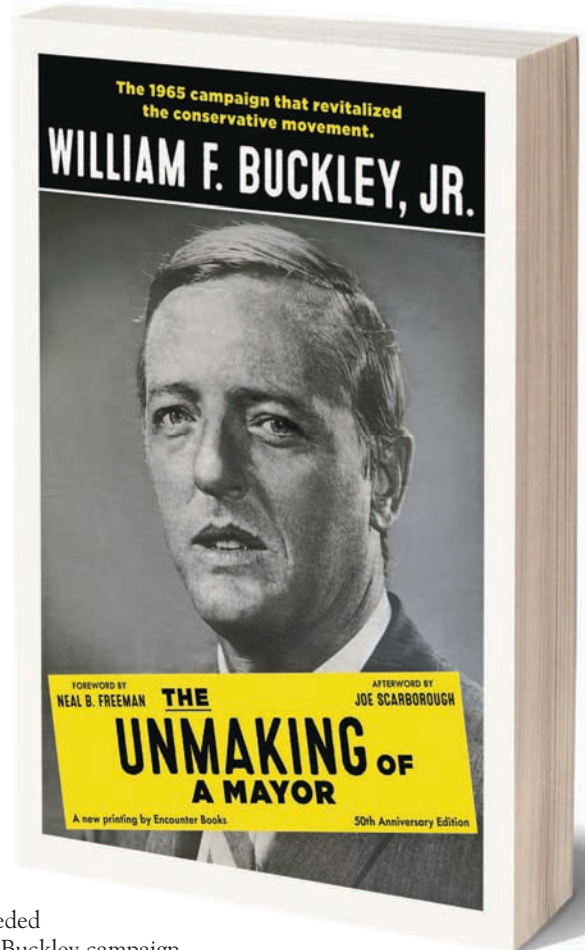
The Unmaking of a Mayor is Buckley at his finest—in youthful prime, in the center of the maelstrom, standing athwart history, castigating the liberal elite, bringing the conservative message to millions, who found it . . . quite to their liking. This handsome, big (nearly 500 pages!), high-quality softcover edition, re-published in conjunction with our friends at Encounter Books, is only \$22.95 a copy, and includes two terrific additions to the original printing. One is a tour-de-force Afterword by *Morning Joe* host Joe Scarborough, a huge WFB fan, who wrote of the effort:

But because of his own virtuoso performance on the trail, the *NR* editor somehow managed to turn a municipal election into a national event. Along the way, he also managed to supply a badly needed spark to what the candidate himself had called a dying ideology. The Buckley campaign would also unite a coalition of working class voters who would be labeled "Reagan Democrats" in the coming years. The conversion of these Democrats to the Conservative cause would provide an electoral road map for Republican success that would soon make Buckley's damaged party the dominant force in American politics for a generation to come.

The other is a brilliant Foreword by frequent *NR* contributor and Buckley Campaign aide-de-camp Neal Freeman ("It's been fifty years now since Bill Buckley demanded a recount. Perhaps we owe him one.").

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were closely regulated, and institutions that over-recruited had to pay penalties. As a result, student demand consistently outstripped available slots. Eventually, tight public budgets and rising student demand led the British government to introduce fees of £1,000 per student (with exemptions for low- and middle-income students) and to increase those fees over time.

In 2010, the British government freed colleges to charge students up to £9,000 in tuition and created a student-loan program to finance tuition payments. In a policy paper, Minister of Universities David Willets explained the flaws of the rationing model as follows:

The current system of controls limits student choice, because institutions are prevented from expanding in response to demand from applicants. That in turn protects institutions with lower levels of demand, which fill their places with students who cannot get to their first-choice institution. . . . Another issue is unmet demand from the growing number of prospective students unable to find places at any higher education institution.

Many colleges did raise their tuition fees to the maximum, and most students were predictably upset. But those fees enabled the government to relax its restrictions on student numbers at colleges funded by the Higher Education Funding Council for England. The cap increased by 30,000 students in 2014–15, and as of 2015–16, colleges will be free to recruit as many students as they want. The government estimates that there will be 60,000 more enrollments per year.

Finally, rules that dictate how public colleges may spend their money will further constrain colleges' ability to innovate and adapt. And as students flock to the free public option, private providers will have a harder time competing, further reducing the public sector's incentive to change.

American higher education is undoubtedly in need of reform. But in forming it, we must be careful not to discard its strengths. Our system's history of expansion and innovation is a function of the market-based policies that govern it. Scrapping those policies would be a costly mistake.

Back to Basics

The resurgence of classical education

BY JOHN J. MILLER

DAN SCOGGIN once thought that he would spend his career teaching college students about Victorian novels. This was back when he was pursuing his Ph.D. in English literature. After taking a job at Tempe Prep in Arizona in 1998, however, he realized that higher learning can occur at lower levels. “Students who are just 13 or 14 years old are deeply philosophical, searching for meaning in their lives,” he says. “It occurred to me that they could benefit from the kind of classical education received in graduate school. They’re not too young for it—they’re in fact just the right age.”

Today, Scoggin stands at the vanguard of a small revolution in K–12 education. The rise of modern classical academies and their leaders reject much of what has passed for education over the last century and seek to restore traditional approaches that focus on the Great Books and the liberal arts. “We want to create renaissance men and women who have noble characters and a sense of purpose that’s larger than themselves,” says Scoggin.

About a dozen years ago, Scoggin co-founded Great Hearts Academies, which opened its first school in a leased church. Now it operates 25 public charter schools in Arizona and Texas. Five of them are brand-new this fall. Altogether, they enroll 13,000 students. Another 13,000 are on waiting lists to get in. “We’re ready to go on growing,” says Jay Heiler, the chairman of Great Hearts. “We see ample green fields in front of us.”

No other set of schools provides classical education to more students than Great Hearts, but its network is just one piece of a diverse and disorganized movement that keeps getting

bigger. Some, like Great Hearts, are public charter schools and therefore secular. Others are private and Christian. Christopher Perrin, of Pennsylvania Publishing House, estimates that classical academies in the United States may total as many as 500. Home-schooled children who receive a classical education may outnumber their conventional peers by a factor of ten. “Almost none of this existed a generation ago,” he says. Their success is an expression of deep dissatisfaction with the progressive methods and goals that have dominated American schools for a century—and, for conservatives, one of the most heartening developments in the field of education.

Every movement needs its creation story, and the new wave of classical schools is commonly said to have started



Dan Scoggin

in Moscow, Idaho, at the Logos School. As Logos students aced their standardized tests, thrived in debate clubs, and matriculated to top colleges, people began to notice. They “Parents are pulling their kids out of schools that don’t focus enough on basic skills and in which students receive a disorganized scattershot of information often with their own variations. Without really mastering anything,” says Susan Wise Bauer, a popular writer in the field whose Peace Hill Press has sold more than a million copies of its books on history and literature. “Classical education is different. It provides an overall structure—you’re not dining at a buffet but a well-designed seven-course meal.”

Sayers—best known for her crime novels but also a translator of Dante—had doubts about her proposal: “It is in the highest degree improbable that the reforms I propose will ever be carried into effect,” she wrote. Wilson ignored her pessimism. “Her essay went into the bookshelf in my mind,” he says.

Several years later, as Wilson’s children neared school age, he and his wife began to have misgivings about the options in their area. “We couldn’t be handing our daughter over to someone we didn’t know,” he says. “We were afraid she’d receive a secular and superficial education.” So he met with a few other parents. They hatched the idea of starting their own school. Around that time, Wilson remembered the Sayers essay. He tracked it down in the library of Idaho’s university. It offered a way forward.

When the Logos School opened in 1981, it had 18 students and the mission of providing them with “a classical and Christ-centered education.” Two years later, 120 students attended Logos. “That’s when we really took off,” says Wilson, who is now a full-time pastor but remains the school’s board chairman. Logos outgrew the rooms it rented in a church basement and bought an old roller rink, taking its big, open space and framing it in classrooms over time.

“We have tried to give students a rigorous education, so they graduate with a map of human history in their heads,” says Wilson. They read the Great Books, including the Bible and Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species*. “We don’t propagandize,” says Wilson. “Our students read the best that has been thought and said and engaged with it in a worthy way.”



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The number seven is important, as it alludes to the trivium that Sayers advocated as well as the “quadrivium” of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. Today’s classical educators stress that their goal is not merely to dust off an antiquated style of education, but to find new ways to apply tried-and-true approaches that have fallen so far out of fashion that they’ve all but disappeared from mainstream education. In her essay, Sayers noted the importance of defining the terms of any conversation or debate—and “classical” may be a bit of a misnomer, harking back to the vanished glories of Greece and Rome and perhaps even conjuring up the image of headmasters who wear black gowns to class and

teacher becomes “not a sage on the stage but a guide on the side”—a mantra that has become a kind of orthodoxy in today’s education colleges. “The parents who choose a classical education are tired of the endless cycle of reforms that don’t reform,” says Perrin. “They want to get off the carnival ride.”

Even among parents who sympathize with the goals of classical schools, Dewey’s influence remains strong: Is a classical education relevant in the 21st century? A large majority of classical schools, after all, require several years of Latin—a “dead language,” as every Latin teacher constantly hears. The teachers have their retorts: Learning Latin may be the best

it, and that we can communicate it—or not?” asks Andrew Kern of the Circe Institute, a provider of classical-education resources. “That’s the fundamental distinction between classical and conventional.”

Although private Christian schools sparked the revival of classical academies, the biggest area for growth lies in public schools, in states with favorable charter-school laws. It’s no coincidence that Great Hearts began in Arizona, which has made public-charter startups as easy as anywhere in the country. The Barney Initiative of Hillsdale College (where I teach) has built the country’s second-largest network of public classical schools, with a total enrollment of about 6,000 stu-

Even among parents who sympathize with the goals of classical schools, Dewey’s influence remains strong: Is a classical education relevant in the 21st century?

never crack a smile. Sayers called her approach “medieval,” which unfortunately now passes as a synonym for “unenlightened” and makes people think of torture racks. Bauer suggests adopting the word “neoclassical,” though this also evokes certain associations. It might be fitting just to call the academies “American” because they offer something similar to the type of education John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and so many others received for such a long time.

“Before 1900, nobody had anything but this kind of education,” says David Goodwin, president of the ACCS. Then came John Dewey and the progressives, who thought that America’s public schools should serve more explicitly utilitarian purposes. “Dewey wanted to change the culture through the schools and create a population that could sustain an egalitarian democracy,” says Martin Cothran, whose Memoria Press is a leading publisher in the classical market. “This made education serve a political goal, and in time it morphed into multiculturalism and political correctness.” Other approaches also took hold, such as “child-centered learning,” in which lesson plans revolve around student interests and the

way to an understanding of English grammar, it disciplines the mind, it boosts test scores, it allows direct access to centuries of wisdom, it’s worth knowing for its own sake, and so on. “Latin isn’t dead,” jokes Tracy Lee Simmons, author of *Climbing Parnassus*. “It’s just no longer mortal.” Whatever else it does, a rudimentary knowledge of Latin will help prevent the embarrassment of mistranslating the American motto *e pluribus unum*—a blunder committed by Al Gore in 1994, when he was vice president. He said it meant “Many out of one” rather than “One out of many.”

Yet Latin is only a single aspect of a classical education, and questioning the usefulness of the whole program is a little silly. When did it become old-fashioned to reason well? Or to speak and write persuasively? Or to understand the physical laws of the universe? These are some of the main concerns of the trivium and quadrivium, and they sit at the center of every classical school’s purpose. Moreover, these schools commit themselves to Western civilization and culture as well as to the deliberate cultivation of good character. “Do you believe that there is such a thing as truth, that we can know

dents in seven states, spread across 13 schools. One of them is the Savannah Classical Academy in Georgia, a majority-black school that occupies a building where Supreme Court justice Clarence Thomas attended class as a boy in the 1960s, when it housed a Catholic school. An unstated purpose of the school is to show that classical education is for everybody, not just white kids with parents who can afford the tuition.

Another goal of the movement is to show that the best teachers often aren’t the ones who majored in education and received government licenses, but rather those who majored in the subjects they teach—e.g., history teachers who took courses on history rather than those who overdosed on pedagogical theories. Leaders of the charter-school movement say that the freedom to hire teachers who haven’t received state certification is essential to their success.

In her famous essay, Sayers accused modern schools of failing students in the most fundamental of ways: “They learn everything, except the art of learning.” For classical academies, fixing this problem is an urgent priority. Call it their *sine qua non*.

Whatever that means.

NR



School Reform at a Crossroads

The Left–Right coalition is coming apart

BY FREDERICK M. HESS

SCHOOL reform is at a crossroads. One needed only to watch Jeb Bush respond to two questions in August's first Republican debate to see why the reform movement's bipartisan consensus is coming apart after three decades. Asked about the Common Core, Bush said, "I'm for higher standards" but "I have to bend quite so far: They mostly don't believe the federal government should be involved in [their] creation." A decade ago, Bush's answer would have sounded matter-of-fact. Yet after six long years of the Obama administration's pressuring states to adopt the Common Core—an effort for which Bush once said the president “deserve[d] credit”—his stance sounded to some like Clintonesque hair-splitting. A bit later in the debate, Bush was asked about having been a board member of Michael Bloomberg's foundation as it donated millions to Planned Parenthood. Bush responded that he had been unaware of the donations, and that he had served “because of Mike Bloomberg's commitment to meaningful education reform.” Bush's education bipartisan ship left him fumbling to explain his previous support for a troubling expansion of the federal role in schools and his willingness to lend his name to Bloomberg's far-from-conservative-minded philanthropic giving.

This would be noteworthy even if it concerned only Bush, the captain of the Republican school-reform team. But it speaks to a larger issue: The Left and Right are growing apart on education, and conservative school reformers such as Bush have grown used to accommo-

dating their increasingly assertive liberal allies. The challenge is especially stark because conservatives constitute a tiny minority in the world of school reform. The school-reform movement has been marked by bipartisan comity in recent decades, as its adherents left and right have set aside their broader social agendas to make common cause. Conservatives embraced education as the foundation of an opportunity society and a path to eventually shrinking the welfare state. Liberals approached schooling as a way to address poverty.

For the partnership to work, conservative reformers made several key concessions: They accepted a massive increase in federal authority, an expansion of therace-conscious accountability systems, and a prohibition on talk of parental responsibility and the virtues of the traditional family. Liberal reformers didn't tone down their demands for new public programs and took care not to accuse their conservative allies of bigotry.

This left much on which the two sides could agree, including support for charter schools, state-based accountability systems, better research and data on performance, mayoral control of big-city schools, revamping teacher training in more schools of education, overhauling teacher tenure, and linking teacher pay to job performance. (Conspicuously absent from the list, of course, are school vouchers and legislation to reduce the import of public-sector collective bargaining.)

The school-reform coalition featured organizations such as Bush's Foundation for Educational Excellence on the right, the Education Trust and Democrats for Education Reform on the left, and Teach for America and Stand for Children in the middle. These groups accepted compromises and trade-offs as the price of cooperation, while their feistier counterparts aggressively advocated vouchers (on the right) and more school spending and smaller class size (on the left).

Two things have changed the circumstances of this long-running partnership. First, liberal school reformers have simply changed their minds on the bipartisan alliance's terms. They have decided that it's a mistake to separate education from the Left's broader economic and social agenda. More and more, they sug-

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Mr. Hess is the director of education-policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute.

that a school reformer's stance (e.g., unemployed and welfare as if they were playing on someone's immigration, gay marriage, transgender dependent adults) were now sold on one else's turf. After all, one can't talk about bathroom access, and urban policing providing assistance to a more pitiable about earned success, personal the measure of his seriousness. Even (e.g., children in the care of responsible, or opportunity without "nonpartisan" school-reform groups adults). The paradigm of these activists talking about education. This should now presume that any credible reformer make school reform a natural issue for supporters. The DREAM Act, cheered with the rebranded her advocacy group conservatives. While liberals are championing more bureaucracy, racial grievance, and public spending, reformers as martyrs to police racism was tired of the Sixties. When on the right can and should talk about poor people or black empowering families with innovative Teach for America (TFA) St. Louisland you faced a shrinking audience solutions that improve performance winner of TFA's annual Peter Jennings the idea that children might band a cut costs. Award for Civic Leadership, wrote for the effective way to broaden the base. Second, stop appeasing liberals on TFA blog: "Education didn't save Mike change." Education figured large questions of values. When the Left insists Brown. Racism killed him. [Education - this strategy, offering fertile ground for school reform requires endorsing its education reformers must] engage in Left-Right cooperation. views on policing, transgender issues, or hard work of active anti-racism, today, in the age of Obama, the immigration, conservatives should stop fronting our own biases and ensnaring less inclined to employ such strategies while bowing their objections or bashfully that we dismantle deadly systems against. "Real" reform, liberals now shaking their heads. If that means passing racial dominance and oppression." Next, requires big increases in public a board seat, a grant, or an other. Second, with the onset of the Obama, fastidious attention to "white" collaboration, then so be it. administration, liberals decided that it was a privilege," and new federal pre-K-Bipartisanship on one party's terms is time to revisit the scope of the federal government's role in education. In 2001, other things. The Left's conflation Third, continue to make the conservatives lined up behind a Republican school reform, race politics, and putting argument that the crucial obstacle to pass the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act—with its giant boost school-reform conservatives: They and cartels that dominate American education in spending, its massive expansion of their either do their best to shuffle along. This means embracing charter federal role in state and local education they can choose another path. schools, vouchers, online learning, and systems, and its accountability regime. Meanwhile, right-of-center education education-savings accounts, and working that segments students into distinct reformers have been loath to recognize back the scope of public-sector groups and then holds schools responsible—the Left has changed the rules of collective bargaining. ble for the performance of having held their tongues when the liberal Fourth, no more well-meaning compromise been assured that new federal allies backed teachers' unions against promises on Washington's role. Re-authority was limited and would be Scott Walker. They've endorsed Obama publicans in Congress seem to have taken strained by the conventional norms of lawless freelancing because they like this lesson to heart already. The best strategy American governance. Treating NCLB certain of his policies, and they were for improving education emanate as an open invitation to push the remained quiescent as he pushed for radical states and communities, in accord ther, however, Obama began pressuring states in school discipline, sought with our federalist system. Why? Be- them to adopt the Common Core federal shutter a D.C. scholarship program, and schools are complex, human "school-turnaround" strategies, and passed to shut down Louisiana's voucher organizations that exist in diverse com- ticular models of teacher evaluation program. They've showered praise communities with vastly different dynamics order to qualify for federal funds Secretary of Education Arne Duncan and needs. Those ineffective reforms Race to the Top program. Later, Obama's has disseminated Common Core critics are designed on the ground and instituted administration issued states waivers from an uninformed "fringe" and by teachers and administrators with a NCLB—on the condition that they sign a significant concerns about federal pre-K personal stake in the results. on to his education agenda. funding as "economically foolish," Bipartisanship is good when it does What prompted these shifts? Liberalism is morally indefensible," and tantamount to involve compromising one's com- flocked to education reform as safe "education malpractice." And they've mitments. And education policy will ground in the 1980s, when southern did along while liberals have remain an area where people of good governors such as Bill Clinton and congressional Republicans trying to revitalize on both sides of the ideological Hunt sought to rehabilitate the Demo NCLB as racists seeking to "retire" can find much common ground. cratic brand while fleeing the social days of Orval Faubus. But both sides have to want to find and political wreckage of the Great finding a new and better way. Conservative reforms should think Society. As Sixties-era social programs education reformers should be of the best solutions they can and fell out of favor, savvy advocates guided by four principles. advocate them with consistency and worked to repackage them. Program First, cede nothing to the Left principle—with or without their old seen as serving an unsympathetic population. Conservatives should stop liberal allies.

Cradle of Choice

The enduring impact of Jeb Bush's education policies

BY DAVID FRENCH

If they played word association with “Jeb Bush” and “education,” many conservatives would immediately respond “Common Core”—referring to Bush’s recent and unpopular support for the controversial and heavy-handed federal education standards. There was a time, however, when conservatives would have responded with “school choice.” And thanks to the Florida courts, that time may come again.

It is forgotten that Bush invested enormous political capital in, and staked much of his reputation on, an aggressive plan to introduce competition to Florida’s public-school monopoly. For a decade, the nation’s largest school-choice program has been embroiled in court battles. With those battles now nearing an end, the courts may yet redeem Bush’s long-held reputation as a champion of conservative education reform.

The founding father of the modern school-choice movement—and Jeb Bush’s “hero”—is Milton Friedman. Friedman understood that the public-school monopoly had little incentive to serve its customers (students and parents) and every incentive to serve and advance the interests of the government that funded it. The solution was simple in concept but difficult in execution: Introduce competition, mainly through “vouchers” that would allow parents to use public funds to pay private-school tuition. As Friedman noted, “you cannot make a monopolistic sup-

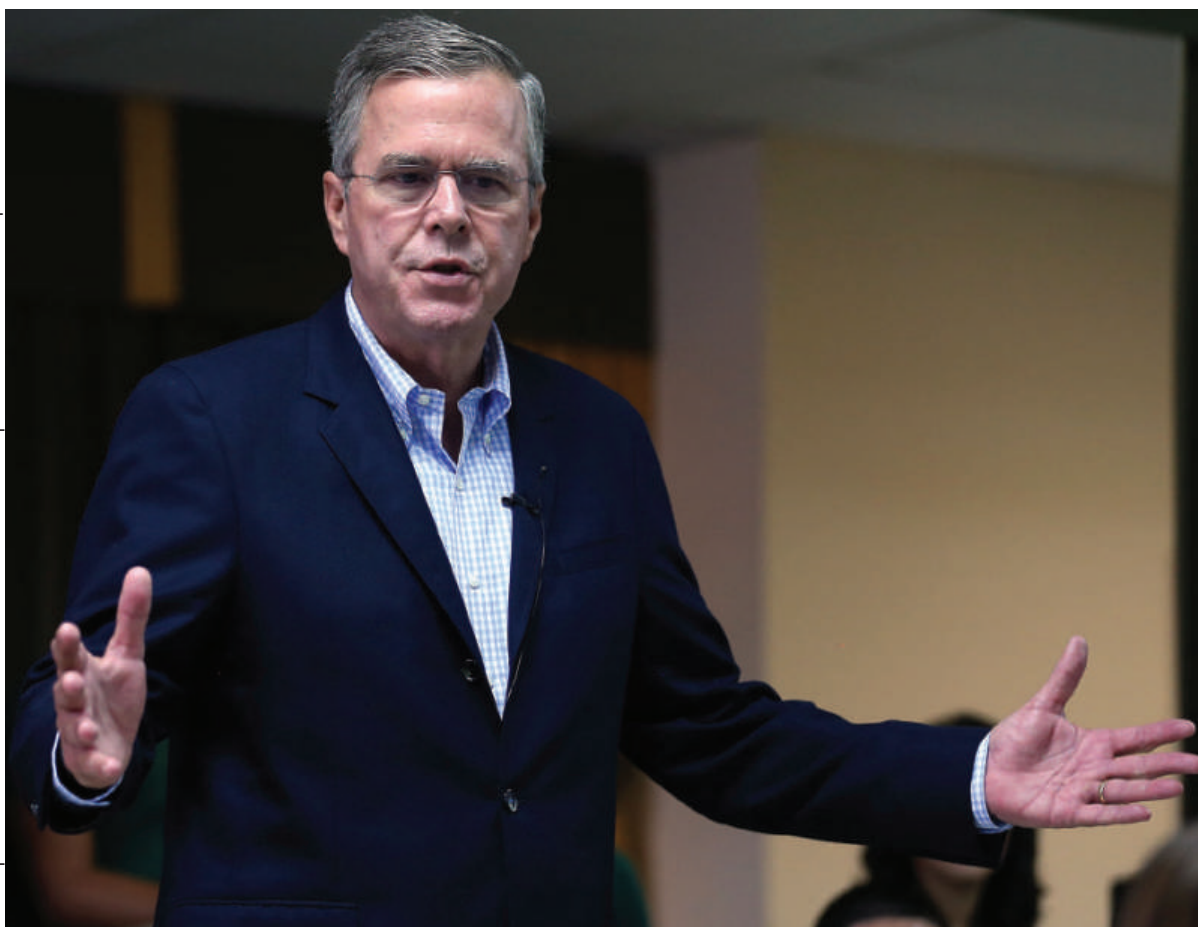
plier of a service pay much attention to eliminate the programs. In other words, its customers’ wants. . . . The only solution is to break the monopoly, which government programs, once implemented, are difficult to repeal because the public comes to depend on them—would now be applied in a conservative way to increase competition, choice, and the power of parents and students.

Bush was an early, enthusiastic proponent of school choice and campaigned for it aggressively in his first, failed gubernatorial run in 1994. Undeterred by his defeat, he campaigned on vouchers again in 1998, and soon after his election began implementing a series of landmark school-choice programs. Key bills passed in 1999, 2000, and 2001 awarded vouchers or tax-credit scholarships to students at failing schools, special-needs students, and students from low-income families. By 2005, the school-choice program included pre-K families, who became eligible for vouchers to attend private preschools.

As Bush recently explained to me, he aimed to achieve large-scale choice as early as possible. “Scale was key,” he says. The more people who benefited from school choice, the harder it would be for opponents to repeal or otherwise

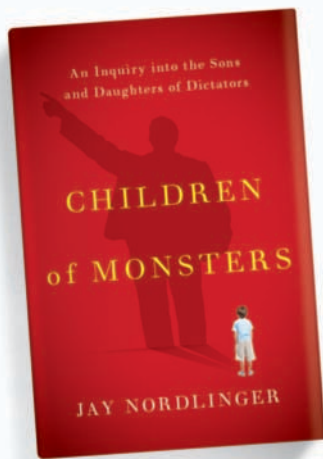
The strategy worked. A group of parents—supported by a broad leftist coalition—quickly filed suit, but their complaint challenged only the first and smallest of the Bush plan’s programs, the Opportunity Scholarship, which at first served only a few dozen students fleeing failing schools. The plaintiffs claimed that the scholarships violated two sections of the Florida constitution: the state’s odious, anti-Catholic “Blaine Amendment,” which prohibits the use of state funds at religious schools, and a provision stating that “adequate provision shall be made by law for a uniform, efficient, safe, secure and high quality system of free public schools.”

Even as the Bush administration fought for the Opportunity Scholarships,



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it pushed forward with additional unions and their allies had to strike at school-choice programs, important once. As Bush says, "There is no kumamong them the Florida Tax Credit Scholarship with teachers' unions." So last year the Florida Education Association (FEA) sued, challenging the tax-credit scholarship program. It was an odd choice of target. Beginning with the United States Supreme Court's ruling in *Arizona Christian School Tuition Organization v. Winn* (2011) and continuing through state supreme-court rulings in Alabama and New Hampshire, courts have regularly held tax-credit plans. For the Florida Education Association to win, it would have had to overcome considerable legal precedent.

Florida is not the only state to have implemented a tax-credit scholarship program, but it's one of the few to have done so on a significant scale. The program now funds 77,090 students in private schools. The vast majority—68 percent—are Latino or African American. For the Florida Education Association to win, it would have had to overcome considerable legal precedent.

On May 18 of this year, a Florida trial court tossed out the lawsuit. Yet even before the ruling, there was evidence that the union and its allies had gone too far politically. African-American

In 2006, the leftist, teachers'-union-pastors, who saw the programs' positive effects, mobilized in opposition to the liberal-dominated Florida supreme court NAACP, which opposed the program, struck down the Opportunity Scholarship while in his tough reelection bid. The court held that the program

diverts public dollars into separate private systems parallel to and in competition with the free public schools that are the state means set out in the Constitution for the education of Florida's children. . . . This diversion not only reduces money available to the free schools, but also funds private schools that are not "uniform" when compared with each other or the public system.

But despite the ruling, Florida's school-choice program—including private-school choice—continued to grow. Because Florida had launched multiple, distinct programs, a court ruling on one program could not kill them all. Bush's multi-front strategy kept low-income neighborhoods would be school choice alive. By 2014, more than 200,000 Florida students were attending private schools—many of rise considerably. "People would be in them religious private schools—through the streets," he says—marching for tax-credit scholarships, the McKay Scholarship for special-needs students, and Florida's pre-K program.

As more and more families benefit from school choice against the educational establishment. If choice wins in the point of no return. The facts on Florida, it may well be because, 16 years ago, a governor and his team designed a program that was too popular to fail.

NR

Gruel, Britannia

STORY from the *Telegraph*: “Meat should be guided toward a daily bowl of mashed lentils, consumed treated like tobacco with a public campaign to in damp gray communal halls where the telescreens stop people eating it, Jeremy Corbyn’s new drone on about the increase in the choco-rations. Until vegan shadow farming minister Kerry Mc- it’s banned.

Carthy has suggested.”

That’s the goal. “Progress on animal welfare is being “Shadow” is not, in this context, a way of describing made at EU level,” she said, “but in the end it comes down to someone so malnourished that he appears to be a black to not eating meat or dairy.” From the same people who outline on the ground. It’s a British term for someone believe a rat is morally indistinguishable from a child, a who would have a government position if the voters new compelling argument designed to gather the masses wanted him to have it. Of course a vegan would want to their side: A piece of cheese is a cigarette.

everyone else to follow her personal preferences; it’s If you point out that eating meat is part of British cul- not just a diet, it’s a moral viewpoint that refuses to, well, that just proves why it has to go, doesn’t it? masticate anything from anything that can feel pain, There’s nothing less compelling than one’s own culture, from the lowliest fish to a Jeb Bush pollster. It is a noble with all its tired familiar traditions. Basically, Dad liked his rejection of the fierce, bloody, cruel ways of nature—roast beef, that’s the problem. Dull old Dad. Who laughed which is totally awesome in all other ways and must be when you came home with your hair purple. That’s when respected, mind you, and if animals eat other animals, you went vegan, wasn’t it? Just curious.

it’s because they’re, well, animals, and we can’t judge What of the other members of England’s rich tapestry? their culture.

Wouldn’t it be cultural imperialism to close down the More from shadowy minister: “In an interview with halal butchers who serve the Muslim community? *Viva!life*, a magazine for vegans, she admitted she was a ‘mil’ Probably so. Best to make an exception. Wouldn’t want to itant’ when it came to clamping down on meat consumption.” be bigots. You know who’s bigoted? People who say they

“Militant” usually means one of two things: (a) willing wouldn’t approve of a Muslim pope. I mean, it’s all the to use force to make others comply, or (b) chaining one same book. What’s the bloody problem? They’re the self to the dairy case at the supermarket and shouting bloody problem.

MURDERER! at old ladies who came to buy some eggs. Later, she clarified with the usual windy twaddle: “There Really: A pro-chicken group whose name I’ve forgotten, will be different viewpoints, there will be violent disagree- mostly because I do not give a cluck, put out some Youments, but it’s about trying to listen to the evidence, Tube videos in which they barged into a Chipotle and told approach things with an open mind—and I am very much a sad story about a murdered little girl, who was also prepared to do that.”

chicken. *She just wanted to live.* I am not in favor of Uh-huh. If there’s anything we know about people who killing animals for sport, as it happens, but when it comes believe they stand atop the moral high ground with the to a nice piece of chicken with some mayo and perhaps banner of Truth in one hand and of Science in the other dash of Sriracha, that’s not morally indistinguishable and want to take away freedom and choice in the name of from a Taliban brigade that blows up a girls’ school. some amorphous wonderful Glory—in this case, a plate

If I were a betting man, I’d wager that someone who weepsf mashed black beans—it’s that they’re open-minded and for the squandered youth of a bird and rails at strangers about prepared to listen. Well, here’s a thought. Some smokers the moral horror of industrial fowl-decapitation facilities is have switched to vaping, a cigarette substitute that trades also unmoved by Planned Parenthood’s selling infant horrible smoke for nicotine-infused water vapor. Cities fragments for experimentation, because the PETaphiles are attempting to regulate or ban it, because it seems to are all Scrooges at heart when it comes to humans: Besdestigmatize inhaling gas from a narrow tube. And we they die off and decrease the surplus population. Particu ean’t have that.

larly if they’re born in the West, where some stupid So. Tofu is often substituted for meat. If vaping is bad woman will drive them around in a vehicle that emits because it reminds people of smoking, then tofu must planet-killing fumes. If the kid is born in Cuba, that might also be castigated in public-relations campaigns because be okay. But only a few. it reminds people of meat, and meat is killing the planet.

To continue: “I really believe that meat should be treated Some militant vegans see the Golden Arches of Mc- in exactly the same way as tobacco,” McCarthy said, Donald’s and a voice screams in their head *Miami will be* “with public campaigns to stop people eating it.” Those *underwater in 16 years!* In previous eras, people thus campaigns have been quite effective; almost no one eats afflicted were smearing applesauce on the walls of tobacco anymore. Perhaps she also means that the state their asylum cell; now they are appointed to govern- should levy heavy taxes on meat so that people are gently ment agencies.

This is how the world ends: not with a belch, but with the flatulence of the legume enthusiast. **NR**

Mr. Lileks blogs at www.lileks.com.



Text



The Long View

BY ROB LONG

TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF CELL BLOCK H:

Greetings!

Although I'm a recent arrival, that it's interesting to see the obvious differences in here at the Sybil Brand Women's suddenly attacking me for levels of accommodation and Federal Correctional Institution, what are perfectly legal and totally fact that my cell size is slightly like to think that I've settled down fundraising tools—each larger (only because it has to and made some great and lasting candidate is entitled to collect my personal Internet server friendships. If any of you have those cigarettes from donors and my assistant, Sadie Blumen - yet had a chance to stop by without disclosing the individual(s)—there's so much we can cell to say "Hi" and get a complete gang affiliation—in and together. mentary hair-braiding, please do effort to deflect attention from us as we approach Election Day, I'd love to take that moment to own difficulties with please feel free to reach out to me visit with you and get a chance to Hellfire Hos on Level personally or to my assistant, listen to your thoughts and who found some of her research. As you may know, Sadie Blumenthal is currently "transi- is being governed. I've reached out to the Listening" from male to female—

Because I'll be honest with Hellfire Hos. On my Listening she was previously known as I think we deserve better. I think of Level 2, I heard the Sidney Blumenthal"—and is the women of Cell Block H are loud and clear, until the war of my oldest and most trusted serve someone on the Inmate then and some of the bulls came in. Sadie is a terrific gal Officer Council who hears their me. and a lot of fun and I know voices, who feels their concerns. But it was a good experience you're all going to love her as and who has spent a lifetime doing regret it. And I don't regret as I do! resenting the powerless. my brief three days teaching man all in for Cell Block H!

I mean, do we like these itchy and pedicures against And you know that because some blue jumpsuits?! Do we?! I swear to the Nubian Kweens of the terrific ladies on Level 4 heck don't!! Level 4. Did I enjoy it? Not nice enough to tattoo that

From Arkansas, to the Whites, no. Did I learn something? my backside! Shower Hour is House, to the Senate, to the Y State now a great time to show your Department, where I broke barriers And that's what a Listening solidarity! Let's send a message ers and had the distinction of is all about. to the warden and the bulls that

being the first female secretary And that's what my campaign are united and strong and will state who was born in this country about. I'm trying to bring us denied!

and was white—it's all brought together here. The Hoochie Can't wait to get started!

me here, to this moment, to the Cell the Trap Queens and all the best, Block H at the Sybil Brand Tripping Hos and the Hillary Women's Federal Correctional Mollies and the T. Swizzles and. We always need more loose Institution. the Nubian Kweens and the Latinettes, individually wrapped

I'm running to be your representative and every part of the rainbow to make the campaign a success. Please see Campaign Chair - the challenges ahead! Together come together as powerful person Sadie Blumenthal if you we can make a difference! empowered women and bring our help!

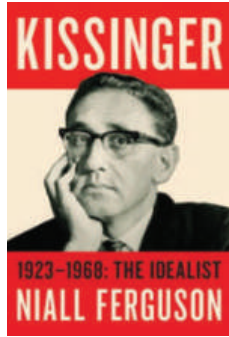


Text

Books, Arts & Manners

Super K, Revisited

MAX BOOT



Kissinger: 1923–1968: The Idealist, by Niall Ferguson (Penguin, 1,008 pp., \$39.95)

‘SURELY no statesman in modern times, and certainly no American secretary of state, has been as revered and then as reviled as Henry Kissinger.” So begins Niall Ferguson’s monumental biography, the first volume of which takes the story from Kissinger’s birth until his appointment as national security adviser by President-elect Richard Nixon in 1968.

Surely Ferguson is right. Once upon a time—in 1974, to be exact—Kissinger was depicted on the cover of *Newsweek* as a cartoon figure dubbed “Super K.” *Time* called him “the world’s indispensable man,” and he even became an international sex symbol. More recently he has been denounced as a war criminal and held responsible for massacres from Bangladesh to Cambodia.

Whatever else he is, Kissinger, who is still active at the age of 92, has been an object of never-ending fascination. Thus it is hardly surprising that he has been the subject of numerous books, including a previous biography by Walter Isaacson, and numerous studies of his diplomacy.

Mr. Boot is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. He is writing The Road Not Taken: Edward Lansdale and the American Experience in Vietnam.

to say nothing of Kissinger’s own sprawl—Moreover, Kissinger parted ways with Cold War “pragmatists” (or “realists” who were willing, Ferguson writes, to “quietly surrender Cuba, East Berlin, Laos, and South Vietnam to Communist control rather than risk a confrontation with Moscow or Beijing.” To Kissinger, such ideas smacked of 1930s appeasement. But was this the

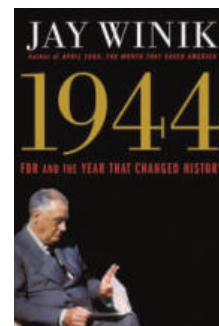
Kissinger no doubt hoped the final product would be more flattering to him than most of what had previously been written. And it is. But Ferguson is hardly gushing. He can be critical when he confesses to being slightly confused by the distinctions Ferguson draws between present Kissinger not as a cartoon superhero or supervillain but as a real person—and one who was not motivated solely, as some authors suggest, by a desire to advance his adopted homeland.

Ferguson’s daring thesis is that Kissinger did not start out as a realist—i.e., someone devoted to preserving the balance of power at all costs so as to keep the peace. “Far from being a Machiavellian realist,” he writes, Kissinger was from the outset of his career an idealist, having immersed himself as an undergraduate in the philosophy of the great Prussian philosopher Immanuel Kant.” Kant’s idea of a “federation of free states” also inspired Wilson, among others. But, as Ferguson clarifies, Kissinger was not “an idealist in the sense in which the word is often used to characterize that traditional U.S. foreign policy that emphasized the subordination of ‘might’ to supranational laws and courts.” Rather, he suggests, Kissinger was “Americanized” in high school, which he attended while working at a shaving-brush factory to help support his family. The process of assimilation—which involved shedding the Orthodox Judaism of his parents—was completed in the U.S. Army, which he joined as a draftee in 1943. On November 25, 1944, Kissinger found himself back on German soil, this time as a sergeant working to identify America with aspirations for freedom. “These are things we want to do because of the values we stand for,” he said, “not because we want to beat the Communists.”

And however one might characterize Kissinger, in the end it doesn’t much matter, because the real attraction of this volume is that it gives a more well-rounded, intimate, and complete portrait of Kissinger’s rise than any previous work. It is long, to be sure—more than 1,000 pages, and that’s before Kissinger even became a policymaker. But it is not boring. Ferguson is a witty and graceful stylist who keeps the reader’s attention throughout this epic account of an amazing life. The young man born as Heinz Alfred Kissinger in Bavaria in 1923 emigrated to New York with his family in 1938. Most of his extended family perished in the Holocaust. Already 15 when he arrived, he became thoroughly Americanized in high school, which he attended while working at a shaving-brush factory to help support his family. The process of assimilation—which involved shedding the Orthodox Judaism of his parents—was completed in the U.S. Army, which he joined as a draftee in 1943. On November 25, 1944, Kissinger found himself back on German soil, this time as a sergeant working to identify America with aspirations for freedom. “These are things we want to do because of the values we stand for,” he said, “not because we want to beat the Communists.”

FDR in Decline

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON



1944: FDR and the Year That Changed History, by Jay Winik
(Simon & Schuster, 656 pp., \$35)

Kissinger was **not as power-mad** as he was made out to be.

York whom he eventually divorced), Kissinger did not fit in with other undergraduates. But his brilliance carried him to academic glory.

After getting his B.A. in 1950, with a record-length thesis, he chose to enter graduate school. “It cannot be said that Kissinger chose the obvious route to power,” Ferguson comments of his choice to pursue a Ph.D. in Harvard’s department of government. He did not help his own cause by writing his dissertation—subsequently published as *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh, and the Problems of Peace, 1812–1822*—on the seemingly dusty subject of peacemaking after the Napoleonic Wars.

Yet by the end of the 1950s, Kissinger had become an “intellectual-celebrity” granted tenure by Harvard, interviewed on television shows, and cited by politicians. His breakthrough came when he was hired to direct a Council on Foreign Relations study group on nuclear-weapons policy. This resulted in the 1957 publication of Kissinger’s book *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* in which he argued that it was possible and even desirable to use tactical nuclear weapons in limited conflicts short of World War III. The book received a rapturous reception even

though its thesis was so unconvincing—how could anyone, Ferguson points out, have any assurance that “any use of nuclear missiles, no matter how limited in intent and scale,” would not “escalate into full-blown Armageddon”?—that Kissinger himself repudiated it three years later.

By then, he had already become the closest foreign-policy adviser to New York governor and presidential aspirant Nelson Rockefeller—a relationship that Kissinger would maintain throughout the 1960s even as he also worked as a part-time consultant to the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Like most of his colleagues in what Ferguson calls “Boswash” (Boston–Washington), Kissinger had nothing but disdain for Richard Nixon, believing him “unfit to be president.” By contrast, he idealized

“Rocky” as (in Ferguson’s words) “an American aristocrat, a moderate Republican, and an enlightened ruler.” His unwavering faith in Rockefeller, and his concomitant belief that Nixon was unelectable, shows how out of touch he was with the realities of American politics.

But it also shows that he was not as power-mad as he was made out to be. Ferguson writes that the only position Kissinger sought in 1968 was that of under-secretary of defense under Rockefeller, whom he wrongly imagined would be named secretary of defense in the Nixon administration. Kissinger was startled when Nixon, a man he had met only once before and then only briefly, offered him the job of national-security adviser. (Actually he did not at first understand that Nixon *had* offered him the job, so strange and indirect was his first long conversation with the president-elect.) Kissinger did not accept on the spot, acceding only after friends such as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. urged him to take this powerful post.

Kissinger was only 45, and about to ascend to the pinnacle of power. But that is a story for a later volume. If it is as fascinating as volume one, it will be well worth waiting for.

NR

JAY WINIK is a master of the *annus magnus* school of history, in which the past can best be fathomed and told by ferreting out individual seminal years. During certain annual spurts, historic decisions come thick and fast, leaving the world altered for decades (hence the common phrase “the year that changed history”). Winik’s *April 1865* was a masterly account of how a few unforeseen events in the final month of the Civil War, none of them preordained (from the assassination of Abraham Lincoln to Robert E. Lee’s decision to surrender, disband his forces, and eschew guerrilla war), changed the trajectory of American history.

Winik believes a similar hinge of fate was the year 1944—especially Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s wartime decision-making over those twelve critical months. The big-year genre of history, however, is a difficult one, precisely because all years have their moments and see critical change. It is hard to establish scholarly criteria that qualify some as landmark and others as more ordinary periods. Indeed, dozens of books with years in their titles—1914, 1919, 1939, 1943, 1968—seem to share the same premise.

Mr. Hanson is a classicist and historian at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, and the author, most recently, of The Savior Generals.

Still, Winik is not suggesting failure, heart-valve damage, hypertension, blindness was somewhat understandable (with blood pressure regularly above 200/100), atherosclerosis, and sinus, bronchial, intestinal, and urinary infections of the Wehrmacht's soldiers were eventual deaths of 60 million were predicted at Bethesda Naval Hospital. Still, whereas Churchill sought place by the summer of 1939. In March 1944 correctly diagnosed pragmatic give-and-take with Stalin, could be argued that the war was the president's maladies and baleful consequences—owing either to the physical incapacities and discomfort of his illnesses or to his innate narcissism and hubris—became global only in 1941, when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, and Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and covered up both Navy doctors resulting naïveté—believed that this was covered up by Roosevelt's own medical team and aides—and the full story was kept from Roosevelt himself his envisioned team of sober and declared war on the United States. Certainly, the fighting at Stalingrad, El Alamein, and Guadalcanal in late 1942 president often slept twelve hours a night. The changed the trajectory of the entire conflict. Before 1942, the Germans and Japanese rarely lost; after that year, they but his detailed descriptions of the war fostered a new order from the ashes of the old.

Yet Winik believes that the moral disinformation surrounding Wood Roosevelt drew between British colonial and ethical decisions, or rather the Wilson's or John F. Kennedy's and Stalinism had negative consequences for American foreign policy, mentally changed history. The payback Roosevelt's ailments were all made indeed on global stability, for the D-Day landings doomed the Third Reich in a way the Italian campaign. By 1944, he had been president for nearly eleven years, longer than any German borders within months. Roosevelt was reelected in November, and was a living argument for a limit on such a stressful job. Winik might have speculated in greater detail about what might have happened had Roosevelt not dropped the Vestine affair with old flack-baiter Lucy boldy. Brave Jews, independent intel- President Henry Wallace from the Mercer Rutherford and not unexpedient officers of refugee organization—et—or had a Truman presidency daily—found Eleanor Roosevelt's photons, and even a few sympathetic gun, say, in December 1944 rather than more intrusive and haranguing than soothing. His daily cigarettes and same horrific story that slowly

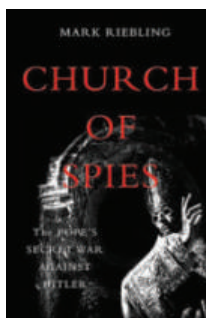
Had General Dwight Eisenhower signed on to the ill-designed Operation Market Garden in September 1944, leapfrog over the Rhine from Holland into the Ruhr, and had he instead plied the mobile thrusts of George Patton rather than the slow plodding of

General Montgomery and Hodges, the Allies might well have plowed Germany during autumn 1944—especially given the propensity of Germany to fight more resolutely the Soviets—the weakening Eastern Front. The power vacuum and the inability of the West in 1944 would have saved a half a million Jews from the Holocaust. Three themes dominate Winik's narrative of 1944. One, Franklin Roosevelt was far more ill than anyone could have imagined. By mid 1944, Roosevelt suffered from end-stage congestive heart failure, heart-valve damage, hypertension, blindness was somewhat understandable (with blood pressure regularly above 200/100), atherosclerosis, and sinus, bronchial, intestinal, and urinary infections of the Wehrmacht's soldiers were eventual deaths of 60 million were predicted at Bethesda Naval Hospital. Still, whereas Churchill sought place by the summer of 1939. In March 1944 correctly diagnosed pragmatic give-and-take with Stalin, could be argued that the war was the president's maladies and baleful consequences—owing either to the physical incapacities and discomfort of his illnesses or to his innate narcissism and hubris—became global only in 1941, when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, and Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and covered up both Navy doctors resulting naïveté—believed that this was covered up by Roosevelt's own medical team and aides—and the full story was kept from Roosevelt himself his envisioned team of sober and declared war on the United States. Certainly, the fighting at Stalingrad, El Alamein, and Guadalcanal in late 1942 president often slept twelve hours a night. The changed the trajectory of the entire conflict. Before 1942, the Germans and Japanese rarely lost; after that year, they but his detailed descriptions of the war fostered a new order from the ashes of the old.

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Papal Espionage And the Third Reich

WILLIAM DOINO JR.



Church of Spies: The Pope's Secret War against Hitler, by Mark Riebling
(Basic, 384 pp., \$29.99)

As Winik put it, there was to be no Lincolnesque “emancipation-proclamation moment” that might have made a Roosevelt administration commensurate with the Great Emancipator’s. There would be no massive bombing campaign to destroy the gas chambers and crematoria at Auschwitz and other death camps. Nor would there be a massive boatlift of targeted Jews to the United States. (By 1944, the neutral Spanish, to take one example, wanted to return to the good graces of the ascendant Allies—and to make some money—by offering some of their merchant marine for this purpose.)

Most of the eastern ovens and crematoria were within reach of fighter-escorted Allied four-engine bombers by late 1944. Nearly a million of the Jews who were to die before the end of the war were still alive at the beginning of 1944. In presenting these facts, Winik draws heavily on the exacting work of the late Martin Gilbert, as well as that of Walter Laqueur and Richard Breitman, who have all demonstrated that the Allies possessed both the knowledge and the means to curtail the penultimate tolls of the death camps. What the Americans lacked, alas, was the will.

Anti-Semitic bureaucrats—ironically, just the sorts that Hitler, Goebbels, Himmler, and Goering had always counted on to do little to stop the mass killings—challenged the intelligence secretary of state, was elected, choosing His 1939 election was greeted with reports, complained of Jewish whin—the name Pius XII to honor his mentor—almost universal acclaim, the rare ex- ing, and dismissed the industry of Among those who witnessed hisception being the Nazis. By then, the death as little more than camps for inauguration was Joseph Roth, the Nazis were well aware of Pacelli’s many coerced laborers.

Winik is an effective storyteller. He expertly weaves together several strands of his narrative—the few brave infor-Third Reich: “The pre-apocalyptic meant for the Reich. Under Pacelli, mants of the Holocaust, the tragicbeasts who now dominate politics areHartl warned, the Catholic Church would physical collapse of Roosevelt, andalready alluding to their true motivesprove a serious threat, because of three Allied unresponsiveness to clear for persecuting the Church. [Pius XII]factors in Catholicism’s arsenal: mili- knowledge of the liquidation of Eurois the only one who really hurts themancy, mutiny, and, above all, espionage. pean Jewry. Winik is an admirer ofWhat’s more, those who were notThe Catholic Church fundamentally Roosevelt, especially of the president’safraid of the pope before are now afraidheads of state,” Hartl wrote, “and down social conscience and his early effortsof this one.”

to rearm the United States and to pro-It’s a striking observation, given thato the present time it has also achieved vide military aid to the beleagueredmany historians regard Pacelli’s prede-this claim several times.” Russians and British. Consequently, hiscessor, Pius XI, as tougher against the But what Hartl declared alarming was riveting story of the abject moral indinNazis. Yet in his new book, Markbeen as an opportunity by other Ger- men, who, at that very moment, were hoping to overthrow Hitler—and look- ing for assistance. Before the Czechoslovak crisis in 1938, high-ranking German officers,

Riebling reveals that Pacelli was just as steadfast—and even more daring.

Among the book’s many revelations is Pacelli’s prescience about the danger of Nazism and his ability to think creatively in combating it. Often depicted as a quiet and unassuming priest, a by-the-book diplomat, and an aloof pontiff, Pacelli was, Riebling demonstrates, the exact opposite.

Born into a prominent family, Pacelli was a champion of the Church, but not a reactionary who feared modernity. He had a lifelong interest in science and technology, and a fascination with new and secret modes of communication. Had he not been destined to become pontiff, he might well have become an accomplished spymaster—and Riebling’s book argues that he actually became both.

In the Vatican diplomatic service, Pacelli dealt with sensitive political situations in England, France, and especially Germany, where he served for more than a decade (1917–29) as a papal representative. He emerged as the Vatican’s diplomatic point man during its efforts to end World War I; and as cardinal secretary of state (1930–39), he was

a world traveler and communications pioneer. He enhanced Vatican Radio and await the election of the succesL’Osservatore Romano (the Vatican’s newspaper), turning them into world- wide outlets. With such an innovative, high-profile record, Pacelli was a natural choice to become pope.

His 1939 election was greeted with almost universal acclaim, the rare ex- ception being the Nazis. By then, the Nazis were well aware of Pacelli’s many anti-Nazi statements and actions, and commissioned Albert Hartl, a former Catholic priest, to assess what his pontif- cate meant for the Reich. Under Pacelli, Hartl warned, the Catholic Church would prove a serious threat, because of three factors in Catholicism’s arsenal: mili- tancy, mutiny, and, above all, espionage. The Catholic Church fundamentally claims for itself the right to depose heads of state,” Hartl wrote, “and down to the present time it has also achieved this claim several times.”

But what Hartl declared alarming was seen as an opportunity by other Ger- mans, who, at that very moment, were hoping to overthrow Hitler—and look- ing for assistance.

Before the Czechoslovak crisis in 1938, high-ranking German officers,

including General Ludwig Beck, began to turn against Hitler, fearing he would lead the country into a catastrophe by Pius XII, his closest advisor. Admiral Canaris, writes war. Beck was soon joined by Admiral Jesuit, Dominican, and Benedictine Wilhelm Canaris, head of the Abwehr (Germany's intelligence agency), and numerous other scholars—notably his deputy, Colonel Hans Oster. They hoped to remove Hitler before his overthrow of Czechoslovakia, but they were thwarted by the Munich agreement in late 1938, which appeased Hitler and strengthened his power.

After the Nazi invasion of Poland a year later, however, the military conspirators, having escaped detection by Hitler, began to plot his demise. This time, they made a concerted effort to reach out to their adversaries, especially the British. They wanted to convince them that there was another Germany, a “decent Germany,” that prepared to remove Hitler and restore peace, but they needed assurances that a post-Nazi German government would be supported by the West. For this to happen, they needed a person who could serve as an intermediary and vouch for their integrity.

The Resistance found its ideal man in Pius XII, who since his days as a papal nuncio in Berlin and who was also highly regarded in Britain. The Resistance was fortunate to have in its service Joseph Mueller, a little-known but astonishingly brave Catholic lawyer from Munich. He also knew Pius XII and was prepared to sacrifice his life to save the world from Hitler's deepening madness.

Acting on behalf of the Resistance, Mueller traveled to Rome in 1939 and met with the pontiff's top assistant. He asked one critical question: Would Pius XII be willing to contact the British government and receive guarantees that it would back the German Resistance if Hitler was overthrown? Pius XII—knowing it was an incredible risk to involve himself and the Church in such a plot—was willing to do so, in the hope of ending the war. He gave his approval, declaring, “The German Opposition must be heard.”

What followed was a series of gripping events, which led to repeated efforts to oust Hitler, all foiled by unexpected twists, betrayals, bombs that failed to explode, and ones that did only to target. Anti-Nazi officers and

civilians led the charge, but they were given critical moral and logistical lead by Pius XII, his closest advisor. Admiral Canaris, writes war. Beck was soon joined by Admiral Jesuit, Dominican, and Benedictine Wilhelm Canaris, head of the Abwehr (Germany's intelligence agency), and numerous other scholars—notably his deputy, Colonel Hans Oster. They hoped to remove Hitler before his overthrow of Czechoslovakia, but they were thwarted by the Munich agreement in late 1938, which appeased Hitler and strengthened his power.

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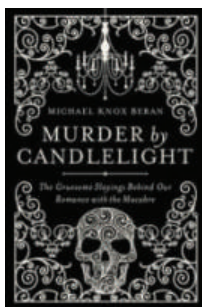
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Violence Before Victoria

MOLLY POWELL



Murder by Candlelight: The Gruesome Slayings behind Our Romance with the Macabre, by Michael Knox Beran (Pegasus, 258 pp., \$27.95)

IN this era of orange-suited victims, his nightmarish visions of dear friends murdered and dead children reanimated—alhis riches. For Weare, the weekend's by jihadist fanatics, Michael Knox sought to penetrate to the depths of human nature. Beran would like to take us back to an earlier era of shocking horrors, that by way of analysis and logic—they later, with his throat slashed and his “classical age of murder” that reigned, favored tools of the Enlightenment—buteet tied together and sticking out of a he sees it, in England in the quarter by emotion and sympathy. The task, Beran, on short sack. tury from 1811 to 1837. He calls upon, was to evoke the deep feeling that all of London was riveted by the trial. court testimony, contemporary news evil “lives in each of us, feeding on the vile found in the person of Weare a accounts, and especially the writings of forms that fester in the vitals of our symbol of the shallow pretensions of his the Romantic prose masters Thomas De” The murderer is us. contemporaries. A witness averred that Quincey and Thomas Carlyle to reexam-The true geniuses in this endeavor were a “respectable” fellow, the ine, in all their ghastriness, a series of the Romantic poets and novelists proof being that he rode about in a horse-murders that transfixed, delighted, and Beran argues, but the “murder historians drawn carriage: “He kept a gig.” Carlyle terrified the English public of the day such as Carlyle and De Quincey, who seized upon this image and henceforth

And what is a “classical murder”? It struck delicious terror in their readers delighted in skewering vulgar up-and- One that is not clinical or bloodless, Beran says—not death by poison, for in stance. A classical murder carries with it a strong whiff of “deviltry” and mystery that cannot be explained away by means of forensics or social science. The word “conditions” came into vogue, Beran tells us, in the age of Queen Victoria. Murderers, increasingly accepted as an unfortunate fact of life in the newly crowded metropolises of Europe, were supposedly driven to their deeds by the deplorable conditions in which they lived: inadequate plumbing, poor hygiene and diet, a lack of schooling. (Beran labels this the “Whig theory of crime.”) Experts in various fields could study and remedy these conditions, the theory went. Acts of

Parliament could be passed to improve automatizing the mindset of notorious the physical and mental health of friends and recounting the grisly details of nation's most vulnerable citizens; thus their handiwork. The first case Beran treated with compassion, potential killers presents is that of Jack Thurtell, a silk would turn a deaf ear to the demonic villain hant from Norwich who in 1821 pers that urged them toward depravity. sought his fortune in London.

But prior to this utopian project, the Thurtell had a passion for gambling and prophets of Romanticism knew enough soon fell in with a couple of scoundrels. to give evil its due. Beran offers past Hag set his fabric shop on fire to reap the praise to early Gothic creations such insurance (in the process ruining an adja- as Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* cent business, which lacked insurance), (1764), which spurred a legion of similar inspired (and failed) to win the affec- “shudder novels” that depicted lovely tions of a wealthy young woman whose lasses and innocent souls violated in vreau he attempted (and failed) to kill, and ous titillating ways. When the Gothic finally fell into the debt of one Mr. Weare, mula grew stale (Jane Austen mocked a it more accomplished huckster than he. in *Northanger Abbey*), the Romantic Unlike Thurtell, Weare, by dint of cun- novelists and poets took up the gauntlet and cash, had acquired a patina of plunging deeper into the heart of human respectability among the beau monde of darkness. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, with London. Thurtell envied and loathed him his demon lovers; Sir Walter Scott, with, when Weare refused him a loan of his witches and gremlins; Lord Byron, five pounds, swore vengeance. Pretend - founder of the Order of the Skull, whose reconciliation, Thurtell invited Weare adherents drank claret out of craniums to go shooting outside London, with the Mary Shelley, with her rebel-hero monster added lure of “flat-catching”—using trick in *Frankenstein*; and Percy Shelley, with cards, they would fleece a young, newly

THE GARDEN

Nothing to do with me,
All that it grows:
Whatever I might see—
A vole, a rose.

Who gives, who takes away?
Look how it grieves,
How what shoots up today
Falls among thieves,

While in the dark I lie,
Failing to call,
Flailing to rise and cry
Mercy for all.

—SARAH RUDEN

comers by exclaiming “the gig of reThurtell murdered Weare, doesn’t men- spectability again!” Sir Walter Scott also tion Thurtell at all. Beran interprets De followed Thurtell’s trial, to the point ofQuincey interpreting*Macbeth* to help us obsession. He collected news clippings, interpret the crime story of Thurtell and chapbooks, and doggerel about the mur-its grip on the English public. The layer, had them bound into a special edition of allusion and cross-reference across and ruminated over them “as a recipe foras are at first bewildering, but the in low spirits.” sight Beran uncovers is worth the jour

Beran goes on to recount other highney. After Thurtell sliced Weare’s throat, profile murders of 19th-century London, he retired with his accomplices to the including that of Hannah on, whose lor of a nearby country home, where the fiancé dismembered her on Christmas drank brandy and dined on pork; Thurtel Eve, apparently in a fit of rage after learn even placed a watch chain, ripped from ing she lacked the 300 pounds he needed Weare a short while before, around the to start a new life in America with anotherack of the lady of the house. It is this s woman; that of Lord William Russell, den restoration of ordinary life—what De whose valet (first stripping completely Quincey sees in the porter’s knock at the nude to avoid getting blood on hisgate at the end *Macbeth*—that truly clothes) nearly decapitated him as hereveals the depth of evil that came before lay in his four-poster bed; and the neverBeran notes that the public whocked solved Wapping murders of 1811, when as much by the “weird levity” of Thurte two attire households (including a three- and his chums, partying in the parlor, a month-old baby, an apprentice, and aby the murder itself. This is also why, o servingwoman) were savagely murdered might add, a Planned Parenthood techni- twelve days apart in East London. cian’s cheerful quip of “Another boy!”

One of the many pleasures of Beran’swhile identifying tattered baby parts in a book, in addition to his luscious prose, isie dish shocks the conscience almost a that he paces the narration of each famousuch as the abortion itself does. murder as adroitly as a mystery writer. The underlying question*Murder by* Short chapters with piquant titles—“The *Candlelight* provokes is: Why? Why Body in the Brook,” “Wolf’s Paw”—lead does Beran, like De Quincey and Carlyle the reader along as hacrime narrative and Scott, wish to delve into the “secr unfolds. As with detective novels, wesprings of wickedness”? Why is he dis learn to keep an eye out for the revelatorappointed with himself when, by his own detail: The red shawl Jack Thurtell firstestimation, he on occasion fails to “worn used to disguise himself in his botched[his] way into the evil spirit” of a murd attempt to kill a romantic rival shows upcene? Does he have murder somewhere later, filled with stones and wrapped in his heart? The answer, I think, is tw around Weare’s waterlogged corpse. fold, and it is what makes his book mo

Beran doesn’t let us get too comfort-soul food than cabinet of curiosities. First able in puzzle-solving mode, though. He Yes, he does—as indeed each of us does decries the devolution of murdering This is what the Romantics sought to into the mere whodunit in which theeach: Evil is a permanent element of the killer’s identity is at last revealed, aftersoul (the Tory theory of crime). Knowing much logical analysis, and we learn—that we cannot easily look this in the fac thank goodness—that he is not a personBeran takes us back to a time safely d like you or me. Intent on instruction (oftant, to reawaken us to this truth. Second spiritual nature, one senses) as much ashe wishes us to put God in the pictu on entertainment, Beran splices medita- “He who believes that his redeemer livetl tive interludes into his account. These can contemplate even the spider sucking time-outs are sometimes challenging, the life-juices out of its victim without often illuminating, and always original. feeling that the universe is morally sick.

For instance, he offers De Quincey, If we are to understand and resist evil, y most famous for his*Confessions of an* must start from a belief in compensating *English Opium-Eater* (1821), as the “in - goodness. With Beran as our tutor, w dispensable guide to the malefactions of will be a little better prepared the next tir Thurtell”—especially in De Quincey’s we see a man in an orange jumpsuit kne essay “On the Knocking at the Gate ing beneath a blade, or the tiny, dissevere *Macbeth*.” And yet this essay, coinci-remains in a pie plate of a boy who did dentally published the very month that live long enough to be rbor

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Film

Bedeviled

ROSS DOUTHAT

BLACK MASS, in which a cadaverous Johnny Depp portrays James “Whitey” Bulger, the famous Boston gangster and FBI informant, is the kind of movie that gives competence a bad name. It is a very well-made film: handsome, never boring, with strong performances in almost all the major parts. Yet it’s also deeply disappointing, a film that hits its marks but never figures out exactly what it wants us to care about, or why it exists as a story at all.

Which is unfortunate, because the real-life Bulger story is strange, fascinating, and an easy elevator pitch: An Irish-American hoodlum from Southie with a successful politician brother gets recruited by the feds, uses their protection to rub out his rivals and consolidate his power, and then, when the net tightens, goes on the lam for 16 years before he’s caught.

Martin Scorsese’s *The Departed* borrowed from the Bulger mythos but left its most interesting elements unexplored: the relationship between Whitey and his respectable sibling Billy, who served as president of the Massachusetts state senate during his brother’s criminal heyday, and the still more mysterious relationship between Whitey and his FBI handler, who enabled him far past the point of even the most cold-blooded sort of wisdom and ultimately paid for it in jail.

These relationships should be at the heart of *Black Mass*, which has two wonderful actors, Benedict Cumberbatch and Joel Edgerton, flanking Depp as Billy Bulger and the FBI’s John Connolly, respectively. But the film never quite figures out what it wants to do with them. Cumberbatch is modestly miscast: His English accent keeps slipping out and he plays Billy as too toffish, to the point where you can’t imagine him ever growing up in South Boston, let alone staying loyal in any way to a gangster brother. But the script also fails to give him any-thing to work with, keeping the character at arm’s length from the story and declining even to speculate on the nature of two men’s strange sibling bond.

With Connolly we get more material, and Edgerton works hard in the part, playing the agent as a salesman, who works Bulger but, more important, works the skeptical crowd he’s selling Bulger to—from his fellow agents (a credulous David Harbour, a resistant Kevin Bacon) to his increasingly unhappy wife (Julianne Nicholson). Connolly grew up on the same streets as the Bulgers, and in Edgerton’s performance you can see the hustle, the mix of arrogance, anxiety, and desperation that hauled him up to the bureau and then cast him down again.

child to illness, he mourns his aged mother—but neither the script nor Depp’s performance makes you believe that his relationships and his grief were anything but selfish, an externalized expression of the prince of darkness’s horrible self-love.

Devils do exist, and there is nothing wrong with presenting Bulger as an essentially Stygian figure. But then you need a clearer depiction of exactly how he pulled other people down into perdition with him, or how they deceived and damned themselves. And the makers of



Johnny Depp in *Black Mass*

But every time you want the movie to stay with Connolly a little longer, to give us a clearer sense of his trajectory with Bulger—the compromises, the self-deceptions, the point of no return—it swings the focus back to the gangster. With Depp in the lead, this is understandable, and to his credit the star, often scenery-chewer, gives a performance that’s at once riveting and restrained. As big-screen Satans go (a character is reading *The Exorcist*, just in case we don’t quite get the point), his Bulger is much more terrifying than Jack Nicholson’s hammy take in *The Departed* precisely because he hardly ever overdoes it; he’s ruthlessly violent, but always in control. Unfortunately he’s also just a devil, unconflicted in his will to power and therefore not as interesting as a leading character needs to be. The movie includes some gestures at the humanity that presumably existed somewhere beneath Bulger’s wicked carapace—he loses a

child to illness, he mourns his aged mother—but neither the script nor Depp’s performance makes you believe that his relationships and his grief were anything but selfish, an externalized expression of the prince of darkness’s horrible self-love. Devils do exist, and there is nothing wrong with presenting Bulger as an essentially Stygian figure. But then you need a clearer depiction of exactly how he pulled other people down into perdition with him, or how they deceived and damned themselves. And the makers of

Which leaves the restraint—the malignant charisma, the frightening stillness, the gleaming deep-set eyes—as the best reason to see this film. Is it impressive and effective? Yes, it is. Is it interesting enough to hand over two hours of your life? Having handed over two hours of mine, I can promise you it’s not. **NR**

Duskfall



RICHARD BROOKHISER

KIDS come back to college at the end of August, but night comes back into its own at the end of September, so be twined in a freshman orientation and the equinox an odd month: End of summer? Beginning of fall? In a garden, it's the home stretch. Gardens begin cold and bare. Drained soaker hoses lie like discarded ropes or dead snakes. When the compost pile finally unfreezes, you spread on a hopeful layer. The first things to poke their heads up are of course weeds, plus a few asparagus tips. On your knees, you plant peas. Poking the soil to make holes for seedlings feels like sexual harassment, intimate and futile: It's impossible to imagine anything coming of this.

As the weather warms, you call in reinforcements: six-inch-high tomato plants from the green market, plugs of lettuce, basil in black plastic six-packs. As chill drenches the garden, perhaps we were taken through ye olde herb gardens at historical sites, or lived near old folks who tended their flowers. Such experiences left us with images of gardens that were orderly and static. But when a garden is your own, you learn: You can plant cheek by jowl as long as you fortify the soil with compost and you can move plants around, as other plants block off needed light or offer shade. You are also constantly thinning your herds: eating them, of course, but also uprooting the weak and the sick. Bugs nibbled this one—give it a haircut. Some disease sure made that one look funny—pull it up. If there were denizens would be in jail.

June is the month of glory. The light denizens would be in jail. Wrens (the German pumpkins, similarly generated and con-

word is *aunkönig*, fence king) move ceaseless, seem less sinister; their bright color from post to post, singing. The apothecaries and their round shapes give them cary rose blooms now, and now only. Japanese beetles have not yet arrived. Now finally chard comes into its own; we Your once-naked space shows greenery clipped it and clipped it all year, dimpled even along the fence's suggestions of reptilian leaves with bright orange stems, enclosure. This is the life!

High summer brings rankness. Borage work in salads and it was not yet time for having shot up, topples over. The asparagus you missed back in the spring sends up weird inedible plumes. Johnny-jump-ups in the garden path were cute, but they are joined by volunteers—hello year, a squash plant grew in the compost chickweed—that are not cute. Climbing beans need no human help, they will grow up your legs if you stand still, but beans must be staked lest they fight for the war of all against all. Tomatoes, propped up in inverted conical cages, must be at the end of August, but night comes back into its own at the end of September, so be twined in a freshman orientation and the equinox an odd month: End of summer? Beginning of fall? In a garden, it's the home stretch. Gardens begin cold and bare. Drained soaker hoses lie like discarded ropes or dead snakes. When the compost pile finally unfreezes, you spread on a hopeful layer. The first things to poke their heads up are of course weeds, plus a few asparagus tips. On your knees, you plant peas. Poking the soil to make holes for seedlings feels like sexual harassment, intimate and futile: It's impossible to imagine anything coming of this.



Some things will go to the very last minute. Kale guards our garden gate, tall, but also uprooting the weak and the sick. Bugs nibbled this one—give it a haircut. Some disease sure made that one look funny—pull it up. If there were denizens would be in jail. (or, as Thomas Hardy put it, "In shadow, there will be toiling bees, slower and lower, like old people looking through their scrapbooks.

NR

Happier Warrior

FOR most of human existence, the average man could look forward to a relatively short life of starvation—at least, anyone in his family who had lived birth, precarious weather, natural disasters, infections, pestilence, accidents, wildlife, and all the other troubles of the world.

Even if he was brilliantly successful in this endeavor, was not improbable that one day he would gaze at the

zoo and glimpse a horde of antagonistic fellow humans approaching his hut. These strangers might have emerged from the sea, or they might have trekked from a foreign land, or maybe they just hiked over from the next village but they probably intended to slaughter him in some disagreeable manner, rape his wife, and throw his children into a short but brutal life of slavery.

In other words, all things considered, your life is mildly unpleasant.

If it's true that we can judge the temperament of the country by surveying its popular culture, the nation's collective psyche has an unhealthy apprehension about rapture, apocalypse, and unconscionable acts of mass violence in a society perpetually on the verge of collapse. I'm not going to lie: I eat a lot of it up. Not only vision—my favorite platform for sampling end-of-days fare—but anywhere I can find walking dead, vampires, robot singularities, or various other forms of dystopian strife descending on a world racing toward some Malthusian end almost always made possible by our own malfeasance and cowardice.

This trend is apparent not only in the adult world, but also in the morally vacuous books and movies that dominate teen culture. In a time when society coddles young people, we have *The Hunger Games* (a story about children thrown into a murderous competition to entertain the despotic upper class), *The Divergence* series (a story about children who must fulfill some preordained purpose or be murdered by the despotic upper class), *Maze Runner* (a story about children who solve giant puzzles or else . . . you get the idea), and hundreds of

ilar rip-offs lining the shelves of libraries and waiting to get made into rotten movies. Everything is scary. Nothing is real. Not really.

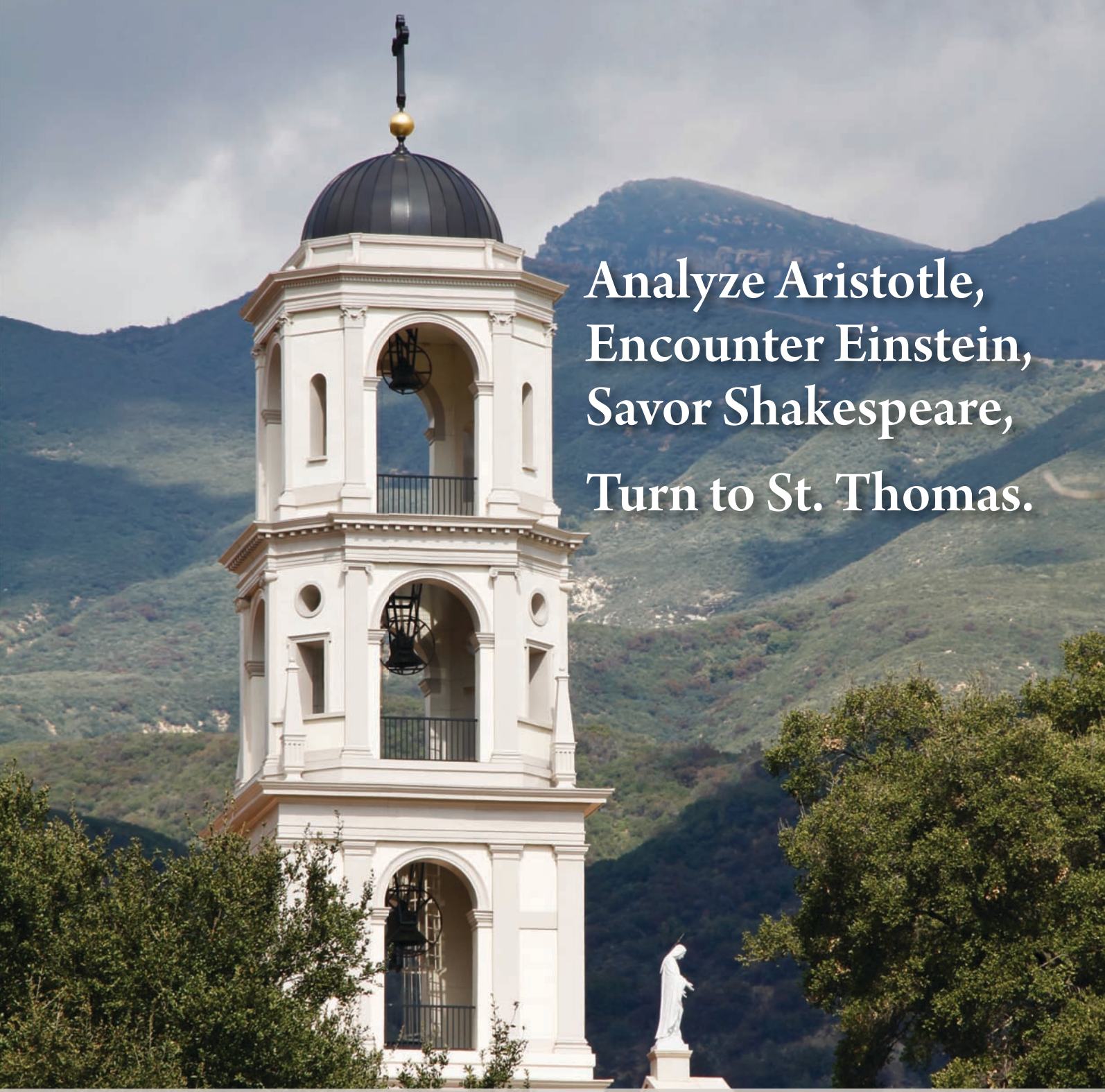
Social critics will tell you that these kinds of trends should not have to pass a bill to make you happy. Neither popular culture reflect widespread apprehension about the future. And nearly every survey about that future

tells us something similar. Not long ago *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News poll found that 76 percent of Americans do not believe that their children's lives will be better than their own—despite all the available evidence to the contrary, all the technological advances, and the indis-

What we should not do is despair. This is not the worst of times. Not even close.

Mr. Harsanyi is a senior editor of *the Federalist*.

NR



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